

ABSTRACT

SOCIAL WORK

MOORE, JANICE CHUBE

B.A. FISK UNIVERSITY, 1974

M.S.W. LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY, 1976

A STUDY OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE 2005 EDUCATION REFORM,
HURRICANE KATRINA, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHARTER
SCHOOLS IN NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

Committee Chair: Richard Lyle, Ph.D.

Dissertation dated May 2016

This study examined the relationship between the 2005 education reform, Hurricane Katrina, and the development of charter schools in New Orleans, Louisiana. The education reforms were established in November 2005, three months after the storm, with the enactment of the *Louisiana Recovery School District Law, Act No. 35, First Extraordinary Session, 2005, House Bill No.121*. The study answered three questions pertaining to the variables that follow: the relationship between the 2005 education reform and Hurricane Katrina, the relationship between the 2005 education reform and the development of charter schools, and the relationship between Hurricane Katrina and the development of charter schools. Respondents to the survey were comprised of 312 adults, ages 18 years old or older. The conclusions drawn from the findings indicated that there was not a statistically significant relationship between the variables, 2005

education reform and Hurricane Katrina, and Hurricane Katrina and the development of charter schools in New Orleans. However, the findings also revealed that there was a statistically significant relationship between the two variables, 2005 education reform and the development of charter schools in New Orleans.

A STUDY OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE 2005 EDUCATION REFORM,
HURRICANE KATRINA, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHARTER
SCHOOLS IN NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF CLARK ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY
JANICE CHUBE MOORE

WHITNEY M. YOUNG, JR., SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

MAY 2016

© 2016

JANICE CHUBE MOORE

All Rights Reserved

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to first acknowledge God, who, following Hurricane Katrina, penetrated my heart and mind with Joshua 1:9. I thank the Lord for keeping His promise to be with me as I walk through life. I acknowledge and thank my grandchildren, Christopher Brayden and Parker Monroe; and my children, Shana Nicole and Jennifer Michelle. I love each of them more than they will ever know. I give honor to my parents, Mr. and Mrs. Oneal Leon and Merion Messiah Chube. I thank them for instilling in me a love for God, my fellow man, the value of education, service, and social justice for all. I know they are smiling with pride from their heavenly positions. I acknowledge my maternal aunt, Mrs. Mary Randolph, my paternal uncle, Dr. David D. Chube, my brother, Frank Elton Chube, my sisters, Renee Chube Washington and Majella Chube Hamilton, and other relatives, friends, and well-wishers. I appreciate their words of encouragement, support, and patience with me through this process. I thank Patti Greene, Embra Bridges, Patsy White, Dr. Sherry Bacchus, James Moore, Charmaine Gray, Esperanza Sullins, Bonnie Davis, Knarvia Smith, Rhonda Lastie, and others who assisted with the surveys and kept me motivated to “tell the story.” I thank Mrs. Claudette Rivers-King and other faculty and staff at Clark Atlanta University for their knowledge and assistance. I give a heartfelt thank you to Dr. Richard Lyle and Dr. Robert Waymer, two dedicated gentlemen who tirelessly and unselfishly gave of themselves to guide and support this endeavor. I am grateful to all of you. I am humbled and blessed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
LIST OF TABLES	vii
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Statement of the Problem.....	6
Purpose of the Study	14
Research Questions	15
Hypotheses	15
Significance of the Study	15
II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE	18
Historical Perspective of Public Education in the United States	18
Public Education in New Orleans Preceding Hurricane Katrina.	26
Recovery School District Law, Act No. 35 and the Development of Charter Schools.....	47
Charter Schools and Education Initiatives	63
Consequences of Education Reform and the Charter School Movement in New Orleans.....	86
Theoretical Framework	99
III. METHODOLOGY	119
Research Design.....	119
Description of the Site	120
Sample and Population	121
Instrumentation	121

CHAPTER

	Treatment of Data	122
	Limitations of the Study.....	123
IV.	PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS	125
	Demographic Data	125
	Education Reform, Hurricane Katrina, and Charter Schools.....	128
	Education Reform	128
	Education Reform Computed Variables	131
	Hurricane Katrina.....	133
	Hurricane Katrina Computed Variables.....	135
	Charter Schools	137
	Development of Charter Schools in New Orleans Computed Variables	139
	Research Questions and Hypotheses	141
V.	CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	147
	Summation and Interpretations of Findings.....	147
	Recommendations	158

APPENDIX

A.	IRB APPROVAL LETTER.....	161
B.	LETTER TO PARTICIPANTS.....	162
C.	CONSENT FORM.....	163
D.	SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE.....	164
E.	SPSS PROGRAM ANALYSIS	166
F.	JOURNAL ENTRY, MONDAY, AUGUST 29, 2005.....	177

APPENDIX

G.	JOURNAL ENTRY, TUESDAY, AUGUST 30, 2005.....	178
H.	JOURNAL ENTRY, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 2005.....	179
	REFERENCES.....	180

LIST OF TABLES

Table

1. Demographic Profile of Study Respondents (N=312)	126
2. Louisiana Department of Education took over public schools in New Orleans ..	130
3. Education Reform has improved the academic performance of students	130
4. Overall, education reform has improved New Orleans Public Schools	131
5. REFORM Computed Variables: 2005 Education Reform in New Orleans	132
6. Before Hurricane Katrina, my primary residence was in New Orleans	134
7. I remained in New Orleans during Hurricane Katrina	134
8. I evacuated New Orleans before Hurricane Katrina came ashore.....	135
9. KATRINA Computed Variables: Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans	136
10. Charter schools are better than the traditional public schools.....	137
11. Teach for America educators are better teachers than public school teachers	138
12. I was one of the New Orleans public school employees fired	139
13. CHARTER Computed Variables: Developing Charter Schools in New Orleans	140
14. Cross-tabulation of 2005 Education Reform and Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans	142
15. Cross-tabulation of 2005 Education Reform and Charter Schools in New Orleans	144
16. Cross-tabulation of Hurricane Katrina and Charter Schools in New Orleans.....	145

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

*“Struggle for an education before you are old,
because a good education is far greater than gold.
Gold and silver will fade away,
but a good education will never decay.”*
Coach Oneal L. Chube

President Barack Obama has identified education reform in America’s public schools as his personal mission. U.S. Secretary of Education Arne Duncan has described it as the “civil rights issue of our generation” (Barnett & Chappell, 2010, p. 1). Barnett and Chappell (2010) emphasized that reforming public education is critical to our country’s existence, and it is the urgent issue of the 21st century for African Americans.

On August 29, 2005, two weeks after the opening of the academic year for New Orleans Public Schools, Hurricane Katrina came ashore. When Katrina made landfall, approximately 118,000 students in Louisiana were displaced from their schools. The majority of the students were African Americans. Sixty-five thousand attended public schools in New Orleans and over 7,500 of public school employees were also displaced (United Teachers of New Orleans, 2005).

Since November 2005, under the auspices of the *Louisiana Recovery School District Law, Act No. 35, First Extraordinary Session, 2005, House Bill No. 121* (referred to in this study as the 2005 education reform or Act 35), education reform has been realized in New Orleans public schools and continues today ten years after the onslaught

of Hurricane Katrina. But, have the reforms put in place been effective in repairing the city's failing public schools? Are the existing reforms an effective way to educate the students who reside in New Orleans? Do the current education reform policies and the public school system presently educating the children in New Orleans meet the expectations of the community? The focus of this study is to examine the relationship between the 2005 education reform, Hurricane Katrina, and the development of privately operated public charter schools in New Orleans, Louisiana.

Traditionally, the education of our youth has had a prominent position in America's culture, government, and public policy. History tells us that the early colonists knew that the nation would not prosper unless education was available to the majority of residents residing within its borders (U.S. Office of Education, 1941).

Educating students in the United States is a complicated, multifaceted, diverse, and evolving process. Many of our country's public school systems are in crisis. Many of the current efforts to improve and reform the public educational system are abating its attributes and threatening its survival (Cummings & Worley, 2015).

In 2013 the national status dropout rate for students 16 through 24 years old was 7%. For whites the status dropout rate was 5%, for blacks 7%, and for Hispanics 12% (National Center for Education Statistics, 2015). Even though the 2013 statistics indicates the dropout rates have decreased since 2000, in this competitive, technological, and global world a single student dropping out of school is too many.

Federal education reform initiatives such as President George W. Bush's No Child Left Behind and President Barack Obama's Race to the Top has promoted school choice, which includes the development of charter schools in communities where schools

have been labeled failing schools (Dye, 2013; U.S. Department of Education, 2010). Today, educational leaders, local politicians, and advocacy groups across the country have embraced the charter school concept as an innovative way to implement school reform in urban communities.

Currently, 43 states have passed laws authorizing the establishment of charter schools. There exist more than 7,000 charter schools in our country, which accounts for 7% of traditional public schools. Statistics show that charter schools are mostly concentrated in large urban communities (Philadelphia, Cleveland, Washington, D.C., Chicago, Houston, Oakland, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York City, and New Orleans) heavily populated by low income, marginalized African-American and Latino families (Buras, 2015; Casey, 2015).

Tulane University Cowen Institute (2013) reported “In the 2012-2013 school year, 90 public schools in New Orleans enrolled nearly 43,000 students” (p.7). According to the study, a majority of these students, 84% attended charter schools. The report further acknowledged that this growth in charter school attendance has grown each year since Hurricane Katrina. The report additionally provided insight by stating that during the 2012-2013 academic year New Orleans lead the nation with a majority of students enrolled in charter schools.

Sims and Rossmeier (2015) announced in another report published by the Tulane University Cowen Institute that during the 2013-2014 academic year at 91%, New Orleans schools had the largest number of students enrolled in charter schools in the country. This charter school enrollment epidemic was followed by Detroit, Michigan with 55%, Washington, D.C. with 44%, Flint, Michigan with 44%, and Cleveland, Ohio

with 39%. In New Orleans, during the 2014-2015 academic year that enrollment number increased to 93%. The number of students attending public charter schools in New Orleans has grown proportionally each year since Hurricane Katrina.

Who are the students attending public schools in New Orleans? An analysis of the United States Census (2010) revealed that the total population of Orleans Parish, Louisiana was 343, 829. African Americans were the largest population group of citizens with 206,871 residing in Orleans Parish. Whites were the second highest racial group with a total population of 113,428 living in Orleans Parish.

According to the Louisiana Department of Education (as cited in Sims & Rossmeier, 2015), because of whites and middle-class African Americans moving to the suburbs, over time the student population became predominately low income African Americans. The study also reported that 83% of students attending public schools in New Orleans were considered economically disadvantaged, resulting from their eligibility for Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), Medicaid, and the free lunch program. Poverty continued to be a prevalent problem in New Orleans and an obstacle many students had to contend with as they matriculated through the system. Reforming public education in New Orleans was vital to the success of those students, their families and the city. But were charter schools the correct way to accomplish that endeavor?

Prior to Hurricane Katrina and the 2005 educational reform, public schools in New Orleans were governed and managed under the auspices of one entity, Orleans Parish School Board (OPSB). They were primarily traditional public schools populated

almost completely by impoverished African-American students and unionized African-American teachers (Buras, 2015; Sims & Rossmeier, 2015).

Since Hurricane Katrina public schools in Orleans Parish are controlled by three entities: the Louisiana state-run Recovery School District (RSD), the Orleans Parish School Board (OPSB), and a non-profit charter school operator (Cowen, 2012). For the purpose of the study, this writer will focus on the public charter schools controlled by the Louisiana state-run Recovery School District, and primarily populated by low-income students.

As previously stated, research revealed that many of the charter schools in the United States were being opened in poor, urban neighborhoods where a majority of African-American families reside. Findings also indicated that educational leaders, politicians, and operators of charter schools had not fully considered the impact this type of education would have on the students and families who predominately occupy those urban communities (Buras, 2015; Carr, 2013; Casey, 2015).

It is doubtful that state and local leaders in Louisiana fully considered the impingement of the 2005 education reform and the charter school movement on the students and residents who resided in the city. The education reform policies, including the massive implementation of charter schools in New Orleans must be examined to determine its impact on students, whom post-Katrina are primarily being educated in private operated charter schools, funded by tax payers monies on a per pupil-basis, instead of the traditional public schools that existed prior to the storm. To aid in a full understanding of the study, the consequences of the education reform policies and the

development of charter schools on students, unlawfully fired educators, and the community in New Orleans will be discussed.

It is apparent to the writer of this dissertation that the success and failure of education reform in the public schools in New Orleans is largely dependent on the successful progress of the students that matriculate in those schools and the relationship that the community has with the educational system that currently exists as a result of the 2005 reform. Furthermore, research reveals that the charter school expansion in the United States, which New Orleans currently leads, will have serious consequences on the survival of traditional public schools in this country (Kahlenberg & Potter, 2015; Reckhow, Grossman, & Evans, 2015).

Statement of the Problem

Heilman and Robinson (2008) reported that for many years before Hurricane Katrina New Orleans had a population of people who experience chronic problems and economic hardship. The authors also wrote that the 2000 United States Census indicated that the African-American racial group was approximately 67% of the City's population. Eighty-four percent of the population group lived and functioned below the national poverty line. Prior to Hurricane Katrina, the public school system was failing the students in New Orleans. The school system had largely gone broke both academically and financially. The authors also revealed in the study that in advance of Hurricane Katrina, the Louisiana Department of Education found that 50 out of the 65 academically unacceptable schools in Louisiana were located in New Orleans.

It was not difficult to assess how the problem of failing schools originated and persisted in New Orleans. It was also not difficult to determine the major causes of the problem and what sustained them for so many years. What was apparent to this writer was that this dilemma along with other systemic concerns including widespread poverty, inadequate housing, high unemployment, poor healthcare, truancy, corruption, and massive crime existed in the city of New Orleans for years, long before Hurricane Katrina and especially for poor, marginalized children, and families.

As was previously revealed in this dissertation, Hurricane Katrina presented two weeks after the opening of the 2005-2006 academic year for New Orleans Public Schools. In November of 2005, with the support of the then Governor Kathleen Blanco, the Louisiana Legislature passed an unprecedented state takeover bill, the *Recovery School District Law, Act No. 35* that eliminated the employment and rights of thousands of employees of New Orleans Public Schools (United Teachers of New Orleans, 2005). In March of 2006, the Orleans Parish School Board dissolved the teacher's union and officially terminated 7,500 tenured employees (including all the teachers) without justifiable cause or due process (New Orleans Public Schools Employees Justice, n.d.).

More importantly, the unparalleled takeover bill gave the Louisiana Department of Education the authority to adopt a new definition of failing schools and to assert that most of the public schools in New Orleans met that criterion. The state took control of 102 of the 117 public schools in Orleans Parish. These schools were transferred to the Recovery School District (RSD), which meant that they were under the control of a state-run entity. The tragedy of Hurricane Katrina provided the politicians and educational leaders the opportunity to seize control of the schools. The takeover bill opened the door

for the expansion of privately operated public charter schools that exist in the city until today (Dixson, Buras, & Jeffers, 2015).

As previously documented, post-Katrina public schools in Orleans Parish are controlled by three entities: the State-run Recovery School District (RSD), the Orleans Parish School Board (OPSB), and a non-profit charter school operator (Cowen, 2012). According to a recent study by Sims and Rossmeier (2015), currently there are 82 public schools in New Orleans. Of that number, 75 of the schools are public charter schools. All of the 57 state-run RSD schools are private operated public chartered schools.

As will be discussed later in this study, the problems facing the students and citizens in New Orleans as a result of the reform and formation of the RSD school district are monumental; however the quality of education being provided to many of the students attending the public schools in the city is paramount. A 2014 Cowen Institute inquiry reported that “Public schools in New Orleans achieved below the state average with 63 percent of its students scoring Basic [sic] and above. This is the 44th best in the state (of 64 parishes)” (p. 2). The researchers also wrote that the basic level of achievement indicated that the students only had a fundamental knowledge of academic material presented at their grade level.

It has been recently reported that test scores have improved and graduation rates have increased ten years after Hurricane Katrina and the implementation of unprecedented educational reform in New Orleans, which included a massive expansion of charter schools. Educational leaders, politicians, charter school operators, and supporters of the charter school epidemic have concluded that the 2005 education reform was a success (Sims & Rossmeier, 2015; Forrest, 2015).

However, what is the outcome of the unimaginable 2005 educational reform to the students, fired educators, and the community who have been denied their right to decide what kind of schools they want in their city? Did the educational leaders, politicians, and operators of charter schools consider the consequences this type of education would have on students and their families who made their homes in the Crescent City, illegally fired educators, and the residents of New Orleans post-Katrina, who were primarily people of color? It has been written that “the ‘color’ of reform in New Orleans is white” (Dixson et al., 2015, p. 289).

In an article entitled *Colonialism, Not Reform* activist and parent advocate, Karen Harper Royal reviewed some of the obstacles with the new educational system. Ms. Royal reported that since the majority of schools in New Orleans are controlled by the state, they do not have an elected school board which provided the means for residents to participate in the educational process. In addition, the charter school operators discouraged Parent Teacher Associations (PTA) affiliation with the schools. Further, she explained that the 107 schools transferred to the RSD that reopened as privately operated charter schools were also given control of the buildings by the state. The residents of Orleans Parish pay taxes on the buildings, but as Ms. Harper explained the citizens have no voice in the operation or management of the schools or buildings. They are denied this democratic right by the state of Louisiana, because the schools are under the authority of the state (Karp & Sokolower, 2015).

Neighborhood or district schools no longer exist in New Orleans. Upon return to New Orleans, all students who seek a public education must present to a welcome center. From there, they are sent to the next available school. Students who live in one part of

the city may be bused to a school on the other side of the city. As one citizen recently voiced her concerns by saying, “We just loss one of our babies because of this busing situation” (E.S. Bridges, personal communications, 2015). Further, it has been reported that most parents do not understand how to navigate the educational system (Karp & Sokolower, 2015; P. J. White, personal communication, 2013).

It has also been reported that none of the schools share similar academic calendars. Some have 25 days off a year and others have time off throughout the academic year. Also, none of the schools begin and end their day with traditional schools times. All of this is problematic for parents. All of the schools have expanded hours, which interferes with family and dinner time. Further, there may be as many as three schools in the same building being governed by different entities (P. J. White, personal communications, 2013).

It is evident that there are many issues facing the students who matriculate in public schools in New Orleans. However, as unique as the city itself, another policy that has permeated the public education system, specifically the RSD charter schools is the hiring of recruits from Teach for America and similar agencies. These recruits are young, mostly white, inexperienced, who with financial support from the state relocated to New Orleans from other parts of the country. They have no knowledge base for the culture and traditions of the city. Many do not have degrees in education, but are placed in schools where the majority of students are poor, African Americans who are considered high risk for failure. The recruits receive five weeks of training and must commit to teach for only two years therefore the turn-over is high. Some argue that the high turn-

over is detrimental to children learning and building positive relationships with the community (Buras, 2015; Carr, 2013; Thomas, 2013; Strauss, 2013; Zubrzycki, 2013).

It was also reported to this writer that some of the white teachers were “emasculating the little black boys” (P. J. White, personal communication, 2013). This makes it unlikely when considering the implementation of the reforms that the proponents of charter schools considered or evaluated their impact on the students that they serve.

In a report commissioned by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) two of the troublesome reform areas identified by parents of students attending RSD schools were “1) the brutal and ineffective school security and discipline policies and 2) the barriers to public education for students with disabilities” (Belway, 2010, p. 1). Lawsuits have been filed pertaining to both concerns. Relative to the over 4,000 students with disabilities, the SPLC has filed a federal lawsuit alleging that these students have been denied access to an appropriate education by schools in New Orleans, which should be afforded to them under the *Individuals with Disabilities Education Act*. This lawsuit is pending (Buras, 2015; Southern Poverty Law Center, 2010a).

Ms. Harper provided the reader with an example of one such violation of the *Individuals with Disabilities Education Act*. She reported that an 8-year-old, disabled student diagnosed with attention deficit hyperactive disorder and oppositional defiant disorder was not allowed to participate in a field trip because he might become disruptive on the trip. However, it was documented on his Individualized Education Program (IEP) that the school was to modify his learning experience due to behavior problems and therefore the school was mandated by law to make accommodations for him to

participate in the activity. Barring the disabled student from participating in the field trip was an obvious violation of the federal *Individuals with Disabilities Education Act* (Karp & Sokolower, 2015).

Further, in most urban areas many of the traditional public schools are the anchor of the communities where they are located (Ravitch, 2010a). It is significant to note, in New Orleans, that statement is indeed a factual one. The citizens of New Orleans love their city, and they have strong generational ties to their neighborhoods and schools, proudly announcing what ward they represent. Since the implementation of the education reform, the current and previous residents have lost traditional schools which were the anchor of many neighborhoods and communities within the city. The families residing in those communities no longer have that foundation to look to, and they have also been deprived of their democratic right to choose what kind of replacement school they want and what system should govern those schools (Buras, 2015; Forrest, 2015).

In addition, educators who were supposed to be protected by the Louisiana state tenure laws and employment policies of the Orleans Parish School Board were terminated from their jobs without due process of law, which was a Louisiana state legal mandate. They were not rehired when the RSD opened, even though many wanted to and expected to return to the city and their jobs. The educators' termination was ruled unlawful in Civil District Court for the Parish of Orleans, State of Louisiana and also in the Court of Appeals, Fourth Circuit, State of Louisiana. However, on October 31, 2014, the Supreme Court of Louisiana dismissed the class action claims of the fired educators with Chief Justice Johnson and Justice Jefferson D. Hughes, III dissenting from the majority (Honorable Ethel S. Julien, 2012; Honorable Chief Judge James F. McKay, III et al.,

2014; Honorable Chief Justice Bernette Johnson et al., Supreme Court of Louisiana, 2014).

The dissertation focuses on the relationship between the 2005 education reform, Hurricane Katrina and the development of charter schools in New Orleans, Louisiana. The impact of the reforms and the development of privately operated charter schools in the community after Hurricane Katrina's destruction of the city will be examined. The writer contends that politicians, policymakers, educational leaders, and charter school supporters have failed to consider the relationship and consequences this type of educational reform have had on the students, fired educators, and citizens residing in the city.

The implications are tremendous and include: 1) Louisiana state educational leaders and politicians altering the definition of failing schools and taking control of the majority of public schools in New Orleans; 2) closing traditional neighborhood schools and reopening the schools as privately operated charter schools financed with tax payers money; 3) busing students across the city to attend the next available school with an opening; 4) violating tenure laws and employment policies by unjustly firing seasoned educators without due process; 5) hiring young, inexperienced mostly white recruits from Teach for America, who are not familiar with the culture and the turnover is high; 6) arrogating the African-American community the right to decide what kind of schools they want in their communities; 7) the state giving the charter schools operators control of the school buildings; 8) the residents of New Orleans paying taxes on the buildings, but they have no voice in the operation and management of the schools; 9) eliminating the school board and parent-teacher organizations; 10) denying disabled students access to an

appropriate education as mandated by federal law; 11) employing ineffective and brutal discipline practices on students; and 12) expropriating the pre-Katrina traditional schools which are the anchor of the African-American communities.

Additionally, as this author has previously documented, charter schools are being opened in urban areas across the United States. Many leaders throughout the country are looking at New Orleans as a model to emulate for educational reform in their communities (Belway, 2010). If this trend in education, to fund privately owned and operated charter schools with public monies continues to expand, it will have serious consequences on the survival of traditional public schools in this country.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to conduct a scholarly and academically sound study on the relationship between the 2005 education reform, Hurricane Katrina, and the development of charter schools in New Orleans, Louisiana. The study is designed to examine the aftermath of the charter school movement on the community in New Orleans. Implications regarding how the education reform policies have affected students, fired educators, and the community in New Orleans post-Katrina will be discussed. The study will also seek to determine the relationship of previous and current residents of New Orleans with the current educational system established by the Louisiana Board of Elementary and Secondary Education (BESE). The study will determine if there is a significant statistical relationship between the dependent and independent variables in the study.

Research Questions

The research questions of the study were as follows:

1. Is there a statistically significant relationship between the 2005 Education Reform and Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans, Louisiana?
2. Is there a statistically significant relationship between the 2005 Education Reform and the development of Charter Schools in New Orleans, Louisiana?
3. Is there a statistically significant relationship between Hurricane Katrina and the development of Charter Schools in New Orleans, Louisiana?

Hypotheses

The null hypotheses of the study were as follows:

1. There is no statistically significant relationship between the 2005 Education Reform and Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans, Louisiana.
2. There is no statistically significant relationship between the 2005 Education Reform and the development of Charter Schools in New Orleans, Louisiana.
3. There is no statistically significant relationship between Hurricane Katrina and the development of Charter Schools in New Orleans, Louisiana.

Significance of the Study

According to Robbins and Judge (2014), innovation refers to making something change. The authors continue by writing that innovation is not just a mere change, but a “specialized kind of change” (p. 271) which focuses on improving an existing entity or

service. They proceed to dissertate that even though innovation implies change, not all changes indicate fresh ideas or bring about significant improvements.

Reforming public education by closing traditional public schools and opening charter schools is a relatively new concept that cannot be ignored. This concept cannot be disregarded, because educational leaders, politicians, and policymakers across America are eagerly searching for innovative ways to improve their failing schools. Because the media and other supporters of charter schools have deemed the innovative education reform in New Orleans a success, lawmakers from across the country are looking at it as a system to emulate to improve their distressed schools. However, what the reform planners and lawmakers failed to consider were the full impact that the education reform and charter school epidemic would have on students, families, fired educators, and citizens residing in the city (Dixson et al., 2015).

The study intends to examine the relationship between the 2005 education reform, Hurricane Katrina and the development of charter schools in New Orleans under the state-run RSD and citizens' satisfaction with the reform policies. The study is important because it will provide an understanding of the state-run RSD post-Katrina, which completely changed the landscape of public education in New Orleans. This study is critical to public education, because the knowledge received will provide important data on the success of the education reform being viewed as a model to emulate. The study is vital to the community, because it will equip the citizens of New Orleans with valuable statistical data to support their efforts to organize against the reform policies. This information is important because true and sustainable education reform cannot be

successfully accomplished unless those primarily affected by the reform have a positive opinion of its outcome.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The purpose of presenting this review of the literature is to lay a scholarly and academic foundation in order to establish a need for the study. This chapter is a review of the current literature related to the 2005 education reform implemented and the development of charter schools in New Orleans, Louisiana since Hurricane Katrina. The review covers a historical perspective of public education in the United States, public education in New Orleans preceding Hurricane Katrina, the 2005 education reform and the development of charter schools in New Orleans, the original charter school vision, and its formation in America's society. Additionally, relative federal and state educational policies are reviewed to establish an understanding of the 2005 education reform in New Orleans and the serious consequences that the education reform and charter school movement has not only for the community in New Orleans, but also for traditional public education throughout the United States. The chapter concludes with three theories that encompass the theoretical framework of the dissertation.

Historical Perspective of Public Education in the United States

During the Colonial Period, public education as we know it was established for both rich and poor children of the majority race. The original colonist knew that the young nation would not achieve proper growth and prosperity unless universal education

was available to the majority of people residing within its borders during those developing years. Since those premier colonists represented many countries – England, Holland, France, British Isles, Scotland - they planned schools based on the influence and traditions of school systems from their respective homeland. These traditions and ideas shaped the educational principles and the public school system as we know it today (U.S. Office of Education, 1941).

Much like customs acquired in their homelands, the colonists believed that there were three ways for students to become educated. The poor could receive education in homes, known as dame schools, where women taught a small group of students. Secondly, the impoverished could establish an apprenticeship with a skilled worker. The wealthy members of society had a third option. They could send their children to town schools or academies to learn reading, writing and Latin. These subjects would possibly give them the opportunity to attend a university and obtain a professional degree. Female students were also educated in dame school, but only a few of them attended town schools (U.S. Office of Education, 1941; Madigan, 2009).

The church was another strong influence on the early schools in America. The Latin grammar schools, which first opened in Boston in 1635 (University of Michigan School of Education, 2007) and Harvard College were controlled by the church. Teachers had to take an oath of faith prior to being hired to teach. The Puritans in particular were passionate about their religious principles and scriptures that were being taught in the schools (U.S. Office of Education, 1941).

Because towns lacked the financial means to cover the cost of an instructor and a schoolhouse, all children could not attend school during those primal years. Another

reason why children did not attend school was because some parents preferred they remain home to assist with work which was needed to sustain the family. Some community leaders taxed their citizens for not having schools and some communities actually preferred to pay the tax instead of providing an educational opportunity for their children. The first schools were financed by the wealthy, rentals of the school property, taxes, tuitions and fees (U.S. Office of Education, 1941).

In 1647 a school law was passed in Massachusetts which required any town with 50 or more families to hire a teacher to instruct the students. The teacher's salary was paid by the citizens of that community. The law penalized any town with 100 families that did not establish a primary school. Communities of 500 families were required to open two grammar schools. This law was unpopular and many times was not followed by the citizens (U.S. Office of Education, 1941).

Because it was difficult to collect the tuition and other financial means to support the schools, children were allowed to attend school free of charge. From this pattern, free public school education was instituted. The wealthy citizens opposed this pattern of educating children, but the poor families were in favor of the free schools. One of the first communities in the country that had a public school supported by taxes was in Dedham, Massachusetts (U.S. Office of Education, 1941). In 1635, the first tax-supported free school was opened in the state of Virginia (University of Michigan School, 2007).

Even though in many of the colonies the schools were free, they were still heavily influenced and controlled by religious groups. Many citizens believed that free education should be available for the poor and orphan children, but that middle and upper class

families should finance the education of their children. The church supported schools were called pauper schools and many families who could not afford to pay the cost of educating their children refused to send them to the pauper schools because of their fear that they would be labeled as poor. After vigorous debate, many legislatures were mandated to order free public schools in all school districts. With the exception of war times, free public education was available to children of the majority race since these early Colonial days (U.S. Office of Education, 1941).

During the Revolutionary War, many schools were forced to close. During this period, teachers were called to fight in the war and it was unsafe for children to attend school. Also, during this time period, many people resented educational programs that were influenced by the British government, and the schools were forced to close (U.S. Office of Education, 1941).

During the mid-1800's, following the Revolutionary War a national awakening occurred in education in this country. School reforms were instituted by such educational leaders like Henry Barnard and Horace Mann. These two strong supporters of education opened training programs to instruct and prepare individuals interested in becoming a teacher. They also advocated for increased state funding, wider networks of access to schools and oversight of schools by state governments. By 1830 a period of development and growth in education had begun (Cowen, 2015; U.S. Office of Education, 1941).

In 1834 New York adopted free public education. Soon after, laws were passed making school attendance compulsory in all states. To avoid the mixing of the races, some southern states revoked this mandate (Peters, 2010).

In 1837 Massachusetts created the first State Board of Education. Horace Mann was appointed the first secretary of the Board. The Board's initial mission was to oversee the conditions of the schools. Horace Mann became a strong advocate for free schools and won the support of the Massachusetts citizens through his lectures, *Annual Reports* and his paper the *Common School Journal* (U.S. Office of Education, 1941).

Horace Mann wrote of his support of common schools in his annual journal. The term common school was used to describe elementary schools which educated white students using the same curriculum. Even though Horace Mann wanted the schools to be opened to all, free black students were usually denied enrollment (Cowen, 2015).

When Mann's tenure in office ended twelve years later, the citizens of Massachusetts had developed a consciousness for education. Education taxes were levied to support the instructional program and the term normal school was initiated. In addition, many states copied Mann's reforms and Boston schools were viewed as the model for other districts to emulate (U.S. Office of Education, 1941).

Three females who pioneered in the field of education were Emma Hart Willard, Catherine Beecher and Mary Lyons. Their dedication shaped the lives of thousands of young women. Emma Hart Willard started the first high school for girls. Catherine Beecher began a scientific study of health and advocated for physical education for females at her Hartford school. Mary Lyon founded Mount Holyoke College, which had a strong religious program and low cost tuition (U.S. Office of Education, 1941). The purpose of all three academic programs was to provide female students with a domestic, literary and morally sound educational program (Madigan, 2009).

Historically, in this country, free and enslaved African Americans were both the beneficiaries and initiators of persistent efforts to obtain an education, in spite of coping with insurmountable challenges, such as “prohibition, segregation and other inequities” (University of Michigan, 2007, p. 1). Most slave owners believed that educating slaves would give them a longing for freedom; therefore they used cruel tactics to keep them compliant to their purposes (Woodson, 1919/2004).

Dr. Carter G. Woodson, author, African-American historian, civil rights advocate and the Father of Black History (Goggin, n.d.) wrote,

Brought from the African wilds to constitute the laboring class of a pioneering society in the new world, the heathen slaves had to be trained to meet the needs of their environment.... as to exactly what kind of training these Negroes should have, and how far it should go, were to the white race then as much a matter of perplexity as they are now. (Woodson, 1919/2004, p. 3)

The early supporters of educating African Americans were divided into three groups: First, the slave owners who wanted to increase their labor force; second, the sympathizer who wanted to assist the oppressed slave; and third, the Christian who wanted to teach the slave about the love of God. Even though they were prohibited to educate blacks, ministers interested in spreading the gospel began to educate “the heathen of the new world” (Woodson, 1919/2004, p. 8).

In the settlements occupied by colonists from France, educating African Americans were not a problem. The manner in which the French colonized did not require them to need many slaves. However, when the French missionary made contact with African Americans, he viewed it as “his duty to enlighten the unfortunates and lead

them to God” (p. 8). The German Protestants and the Spaniards felt that it would not be a sin to own slaves as long as they introduced them to Christ. Both groups thought their actions might prove to be a blessing for them (Woodson, 1919/2004).

One of the first educators of African Americans was Rev. Samuel Thomas, who in 1696 began educating slaves of Goose Creek Parish, South Carolina. In 1704 another school opened in New York City to educate African Americans and American Indians (Woodson, 1919/2004).

The people who maintained schools for the education of certain Negroes before the Civil War were certainly sincere; and so were the missionary workers who went South to enlighten the freedmen after the results of that conflict had given the Negroes a new status. These earnest workers, however, had more enthusiasm than knowledge. They did not understand the task before them. This undertaking, too, was more of an effort toward social uplift than actual education. Their aim was to transform the Negroes, not to develop them. (Woodson, 1933/2015, p. 17)

As was previously written, prior to the end of the Civil War, it was illegal for black slaves to receive an education in the United States. During the 1700s and 1800s a number of schools for African Americans were established. Unfortunately, they were poorly financed and basically ignored by members of the majority race (U.S. Office of Education, 1941).

After the Civil War, several million illiterate African American individuals were looking forward to the opportunity to receive an education. From 1865 to 1870 the United States Freedman’s Bureau opened 4,239 schools for the education of African

Americans. These schools were the first widely known government sponsored and financially supported schools for African Americans. African Americans contributed generously to the support of these schools by financing them in proportion to their ability to pay (U.S. Office of Education, 1941).

It was also documented that besides the United States Government, financial support from the Peabody, Jeannes, Slater, and Rosenwald agencies contributed to the early development of education of African Americans (U.S. Office of Education, 1941). Dr. W. E. B. Dubois (1903/1994) described the Freedman's Bureau as "one of the most singular and interesting of the attempts made by a great nation to grapple with vast problems of race and social condition" (p. 10).

The 1896 Plessy vs. Ferguson Supreme Court decision required railroad companies to provide separate, but equal accommodations to white and black customers residing in the United States (Cornell University Law School, 1992). The landmark case also "established separate public schools for black and white students" (Cornell University Law School, 1992, p. 1). Ultimately, the ruling deprived African-American students of equivalent educational opportunities enjoyed by their white counterparts. In comparison to white schools, African-American schools received limited financial support and negligible provisions and resources (Virginia Historical Society, 2009a).

The United States Constitution did not address education of children; however the federal government did play a pivotal role in developing the educational system in this country. During the nation's primal years, the federal government supported schools by giving states a land gift to be used for educational purposes. The *Northwest Ordinance of 1787* divided land to create townships. Under this Ordinance in each township, a portion

of the land was allocated to support free education. The land-grants helped the public schools and also provided support to colleges and universities in various states. *The Morrill Act of 1862*, appropriated land and ongoing federal funds to establish a college in each state dedicated to instructing students in the agriculture and mechanical arts (Peters, 2010).

In 1867, the United States Office of Education (currently the United States Department of Education) was established by a congressional act. Its early mission was to “represent the Federal Government in educational matters” by collecting “facts and statistics showing the condition and progress of education in the Nation.” The office also sent out “information about the management and organization of the various schools as would aid the people in establishing and maintaining efficient school systems” throughout the nation (U.S. Office of Education, 1941, p. 38).

Public Education in New Orleans Preceding Hurricane Katrina

Historically, Louisiana and especially New Orleans has had the reputation of having one of the poorest public education systems in the country. However, records prove that the early settlers in New Orleans were very interested in exposing their children to academics. Schools have existed in New Orleans for almost 300 years, and were not just available to male members of the majority race (Blokke, 2012).

In 1805 the state authorized a school system for the education of girls in the blossoming colony. This school’s system was the third of its kind in the country. In addition, some of the first people to receive a formal education in the developing colony were Native Americans and African-American enslaved females (Blokke, 2012).

Although government supported schools were first established in New Orleans nearly three centuries ago, because of the strong religious tradition of the region, they took a different progression than schools in other parts of the country. For the 17th and early 18th centuries, schools and religion were inseparable in the young colony. In examining education in New Orleans one must not just view education as a public policy, but also view it as a cultural tradition (Blokke, 2012).

In 1699, French explorers and brothers Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville, Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne, and Sieur de Bienville founded the mouth of the Mississippi River and established the first European settlement on the Gulf coast. Iberville was sure that the river was not navigable by tall ships, but Bienville continued to explore the river region. The Native Americans showed Bienville a passage through Lake Borgne, Lake Pontchartrain, and Bayou Saint John to a patch of swampy land between the Mississippi River and Lake Pontchartrain. Bienville would establish the settlement of New Orleans, named after the Duc d'Orleans, on the high ground along the Mississippi. (The Institute, 2012, p. 1)

Although the French settlement was founded in 1699, New Orleans was not established until 1718 when families inhabit the colony. Similar to the rest of the country, the first people to live in New Orleans were the Native Americans, who represented a variety of tribes. French, Africans, Creoles from the Caribbean Islands, Italians, Germans, and Irish were also some of the first ethnic groups who inhabited the early settlement. Intertwined like the ingredients in a pot of gumbo, "no group was dominant in the early days and there was a great mixing of the cultures. From this

mixing came a unique culture that influenced food, music, architecture, and language” (The Institute, 2012, p. 1).

The need for an educational program developed and by 1725 there was a small school for boys operating in the settlement. The school was founded by Father Raphael, the Capuchin superior and it initiated the strong custom of Catholic education in the region. The school was available to all the male children, including the Native American children. Reading and writing were the main subjects taught at the school and advanced students also studied Latin. The school experienced difficulty with attaining financial support and books and it was forced to close. In the 1760s, when Spain acquired the land from France, there still were no-government supported schools for boys in existence in the colony (Blokke, 2012).

During that early time period, the Jesuits did not establish their own school; however, they made an enormous contribution to the development of education by advocating for the arrival of the Ursuline nuns to New Orleans. In an effort to transform the budding settlement from a wild outpost to a productive colony with French values, there needed to be refined, intelligent, and religious women proficient in the French customs and principles. It was hoped that the Ursulines could aid in the development of the young females in the colony so that the women could sustain their families in a moralistic and capable fashion. (Blokke, 2012).

During those undeveloped years, the then “Governor Bienville thought to secure some teachers to educate the girls of the colony” (Ursuline, 1997, p. 1). On February 22, 1727, the Ursulines of Rouen left France “for the glory of God and the salvation of poor savages” (p. 1).

Documented in a treaty signed later the same year, the main mission of the Ursuline Nuns was to provide nurses and teachers to those living in New Orleans. Soon after arriving in New Orleans, the sisters began sustaining the Indians and African Americans by teaching the children and caring for the sick. The Ursulines fulfilled their mission by establishing a hospital for the poor and educating many female children residing in the young settlement (Ursuline, 1997).

The support of education by the early settlers was recorded in the writings of the Ursulines. The nuns described the enthusiasm and gratitude shown them by parents when they arrived in New Orleans. By 1728 there were 48 students attending the school. Twenty-three of the students were boarders and 25 were day students. The boarding school and day school were operated separately, with the latter educating indigent students (Blokker, 2012).

It was documented that the Ursulines taught girls of all colors including Native American, French, Creole, free and enslaved students. In 1728 seven of the boarding students were enslaved girls. With the exception of Sunday, Native American and African-American girls were taught reading, writing, sewing, fabric making, mathematics, and religion for two hours daily, while the French and white Creole girls were taught the same subjects for four hours a day. Through financial hardship, sickness, and death the Ursulines prevailed and they continue to educate students in New Orleans today (Blokker, 2012).

Even though the schools established by the Capuchin and Ursulines were connected to the Catholic religion, they were viewed as the colony's first public schools.

They received this distinction because enrollment was available to all children, indiscriminate of race, financial means, or servitude (Blokker, 2012).

The Capuchin and the Ursuline schools were not the only means children received an education in those premier years. Many wealthy people either employed tutors or sent their male children to private schools in France. Keeping with the custom highlighted in the previous section, for those families that could not afford tutors or private schools, their sons received an education from an apprentice. Besides teaching an occupation, the apprentice also taught reading, writing, and on occasions mathematics (Blokker, 2012).

Apprenticeships were not just available to free people, but slaves also participated in this type of education. It was documented that in 1740 Madame Hoffman engaged in such an arrangement for her slave boy. Sieur Dupare, the apprentice, taught the enslaved boy how to read and write, and also a trade (Blokker, 2012).

Enslaved parents were also able to arrange this form of education for their children. It was recorded that in 1770 an enslaved mother engaged in an apprenticeship arrangement for her free mulatto son to be taught by a shoemaker (Blokker, 2012).

New Orleans and the region were transferred to Spain in 1762 and remained under Spanish control for 40 years. Initially, the Spanish government was slow with making changes including setting up an educational system, but in 1767 Spain endorsed the establishment of schools in the region. The schools endured to the end of the Spanish period, however they were poorly attended (Blokker, 2012).

Spain's attempts to educate the children of the region in government supported schools were blocked by cultural and language barriers. It is worth noting that during the

Spanish period, all apprentices and servants under the age of twenty-one had to be taught not only a trade, but also how to read and write (Blokker, 2012).

In 1803 under the authority of the Louisiana Purchase, the Americans took control of the region. The same year, William C. C. Claiborne was appointed governor of the Territory of Orleans. One of Claiborne's immediate objective was to establish a government supported public education system. He was successful with acquiring the approval from the President of the United States to use government buildings and land to open a comprehensive education system in the region (Blokker, 2012).

In 1805 emulating a secular school system in France, Claiborne received approval from the Legislative Council and a constitutional act was authorized to open schools for boys and where necessary, schools for girls and libraries were also opened. The entire program was to be funded by two lotteries, however, the lottery system proved not to be a reliable funding source (Blokker, 2012).

Claiborne became frustrated with the slow progress of obtaining a source to support his educational plan, but he continued his efforts and made an unsuccessful attempt to acquire funding from taxes. Finally, in 1811 his struggles were rewarded with a surplus of money in the state treasury. The surplus funds were allocated to cover the cost of his education system. He received approval to establish the College of New Orleans and twelve schools in Orleans Parish (Blokker, 2012).

Although the schools received appropriation from the state, the cash reserves were used primarily to educate poor students. Those students who could afford to pay tuition did so to attend the schools. This public interconnected educational system was operated under government oversight. In 1826 the school system was closed and reconfigured into

a central school and two primaries schools that served the conflicting Creoles and Americans in their respective communities (Blokker, 2012).

Much like the past 10 years since Hurricane Katrina flooded New Orleans, the 1830s were a discontented, transformational time period for education in Louisiana and specifically in New Orleans. In 1830 the state made it a criminal offense to educate slaves and also to print, publish or distribute anything that would cause uneasiness among free people of color. Soon after the passing of that legislature, Catholic schools in the state became segregated institutions (Blokker, 2012).

Because of discord and divisions between the citizens residing in the city, conflict emerged related to public education. The citizens of Creole decent wanted separate schools with the French language being the primary language spoken in the schools. The Catholic and Jewish citizens residing in New Orleans protested Protestant prayers being recited in the schools. During this time, the 11,000 freed African Americans and the 14,000 slaves were denied access to public education (Cowen, 2007).

As a result of the ethnic unrest in New Orleans and to promote peace among the citizens, in 1836 American business and civic elites persuaded the state to divide the city into three independent municipalities with separate governments. The first government entity comprised the present day French Quarters; the second municipality covered the land area above Canal Street, currently known as uptown New Orleans; the third municipality was the swampy land below Esplanade Avenue, which covered the present-day downtown area. The initial educational systems in the city would be established along these governmental entities (Blokker, 2012; Cowen, 2015).

Although the 1836 legislation was not a direct educational policy, it had a revolutionary impact on education in New Orleans, as well as the rest of the state. On February 16, 1841, the state legislature passed a law which authorized the three municipalities to establish independent school districts governed by separate board of directors (Blokker, 2012; Orleans Parish School Board, n. d.). The 1841 legislation empowered the municipalities to collect taxes for the support of their schools and also restricted schools to only white children, excluding black children from attending the schools (Cowen, 2015).

After the enactment of the 1841 law authorizing the municipalities to create three independent school districts, Municipality Number Three opened the first public school in New Orleans on November 15, 1841 (New Orleans Public Schools, n. d.). It along with the school district located in Municipality Number One attempted to copy the success of Municipality Number Two School District, but their efforts were blocked by the conflicts between the Creole and American residents (Blokker, 2012).

Impressed with Horace Mann's success with education in Massachusetts, Joshua Baldwin, recorder for the Second Municipality wrote to Mann requesting his assistance with establishing the educational program in Municipality Number Two. Baldwin, a strong proponent of public education, who was greatly influenced by Horace Mann's public school work in Massachusetts, recruited a native of Boston and friend of Mann, John Angier Shaw to lead the Second Municipality's school district. Under the leadership of Shaw, Municipality Number Two first schools opened on January 3, 1842 (Orleans Parish School Board, n. d.).

Many transplants from New England were brought in to direct the schools that were modeled after the schools in Massachusetts. Shaw also used the textbooks, furniture, equipment, and imported teachers from Massachusetts. The schools were an exact duplication of the schools in Boston. What distinguished these state-supported public institutions from the earlier public schools in the state was the fact that those students who enrolled in them did not have to pay tuition, no matter their socioeconomic status (Blokker, 2012).

To assure their children received a free quality education, families were moving into the Second Municipality. The enrollment increased from 26 students initially to over 1,000 in less than a year. Due to a lack of infrastructures to house the schools, during the weekdays, Shaw leased space from the Protestant churches in the district (Blokker, 2012).

The first high school in the Second Municipality opened in 1843 and a school for girls opened in 1845. It was reported the success of the schools enhanced the property value in the Second Municipality. These schools gained such high prominence in the region, until even the wealthy families began to send their children to the schools. By 1845 the school system was a national model, with innovations not even known to Boston's educational system. Some of its achievements included complimentary textbooks, night schools for employed students, and a public library for the school district (Blokker, 2012).

It was worth noting, until the Civil War, each of the three municipalities in New Orleans maintained their own separate, independent public school districts (New Orleans Public Schools, n. d.). With the success of the schools located in Municipality Number

Two, the Louisiana constitution was amended offering free public schools across the state. It was imperative to note that these so-called free public schools were public, to the extent that they enrolled and educated only white students (Blokker, 2012).

Despite the 1841 law's exclusion of black children from public schools, the literacy level of free black children in the city continued and possibly exceeded the literacy of white students. This was a result of the establishment of private and parochial schools for black children (Cowen, 2015).

It was during this antagonistic, transformable time period that Marie Justine Cirnaire Couvent, an illiterate, wealthy free woman of color conceived the idea of opening schools for indigent, African-American youth. Mrs. Couvent willed a portion of her property to the Catholic Church for the creation of a school for free black children. She died in 1837, but it took a decade for the details of her will to be clarified and the school established (Blokker, 2012; Cowen, 2015; Neidenbach, 2011).

Couvent's school, *L'Institution Catholique des Orphelins Indigents* opened for the first time in 1848. The school became the center of education for the Afro-Creole population in New Orleans. It had its own building, which was a significant accomplishment, since it was at a time when many public and private schools were using rented buildings (Blokker, 2012).

The school was a rare example of an educational institution controlled completely by its own funding source which was derived from African Americans. The state apparently considered the institution a public school, because from 1842 to 1858 it periodically received subsidies from the state. By way of state sustained subsidies, Marie Couvent's school received what may have been the first governmental funding in the

south for the education of African-American students. Over the years, thousands of African-American children have benefited from receiving an education on her property (Blokker, 2012; Cowen, 2015; Neidenbach, 2011).

The opening of another school for African-American students was accomplished by the dedicated and devoted work of Henriette Delille, Servant of Slaves and the Sisters of the Holy Family. Sister Delille and the other postulates unselfishly served and ministered to slaves and free people of color. In doing so, they acquired control of a school where they educated free black children and slaves, during a time when educating slaves was a crime, punishable by life in prison or death (Cowen, 2015; Sisters of the Holy Family, n. d.).

Another wealthy benefactor who contributed generously to the education of all children in New Orleans was John McDonogh. McDonogh was a millionaire businessman who owned and traded slaves. On December 29, 1835 he signed a will leaving half of his estate to the public schools in New Orleans for the education of white and black children (Orleans Parish School Board, n. d.).

McDonogh died in 1850 and in March 1861, the executives of his estate appropriated funds to open four public schools for white students. At that time, his desire for black students to also benefit from his financial gift was ignored. Since the late 1870s, twenty schools in all were named after John McDonogh and many of them were numbered. Prior to Hurricane Katrina, McDonogh 35, which opened in 1917, was a premier public high school for black students in the city (Cowen, 2007; Cowen, 2015; Dixon et al., 2015).

From its inception in 1841 to the present time, the governance of public schools in New Orleans have shifted and been transformed many times. From 1843 to 1862, each municipality had a separate school board with 17 members. The Public Education Board of Directors automatically included the Mayor, the recorder or president of each municipality, and three council members. Additionally, 12 respected citizens representing each municipality were also appointed to serve on the boards (Orleans Parish School Board Collection, as cited in Kennedy & Dennis, 2009).

In 1852 New Orleans civic leaders merged the three municipalities to one government entity. However, the three municipalities maintained the separate school districts governed under the auspices of three independent school boards. The disbursement of funding to each school district was allocated based on the number of white children residing in each district. This division supported cultural distinction, but caused the schools to be fragmented and made it difficult for the achievement of city-wide consensus (Cowen, 2015).

In 1862 Union General Butler issued Military Order No. 6082 with the goal of eliminating the redundancy and expense of having three separate school districts in one city. He replaced the multiple school districts with a single Bureau of Education to oversee the governance of education in New Orleans. The Bureau was composed of five members appointed by Butler. Each of the four military appointees had experience with education prior to the war. In addition, the mayor of the city served and also chaired the Bureau. This structure of governance continued until 1864 (Orleans Parish School Board Collection, as cited in Kennedy & Dennis, 2009).

The Civil War and Reconstruction eras provided new opportunities for African Americans residing in New Orleans during those times. The Union troops advocated for all schools to reopen and also created schools for freed slaves. For two years after the Civil War, public education in New Orleans existed for whites and African Americans in parallel of each other (Cowen, 2007).

In 1864 there was another reorganizational shift of the school board leadership. The Mayor, who wanted to maintain a tight control of the schools, led the school board. With him, there were two city council members and 13 additional directors, chosen by the city council. This governance structure remained until 1865 (Orleans Parish School Board Collection, as cited in Kennedy & Dennis, 2009).

From August 1865 to 1866, in the midst of upheaval and controversy over who would dominate the schools, the city council reorganized the school board. The board increased to 24 members who were appointed by the Mayor (Orleans Parish School Board Collection, as cited in Kennedy & Dennis, 2009).

With factions continuing to war for jurisdiction over the school system, in July 1866, the city council devised a new school board plan. This plan consisted of the 24 member board, but now the members were appointed by the city council. This governance pattern remained in effect until 1870 (Orleans Parish School Board Collection, as cited in Kennedy & Dennis, 2009).

During Reconstruction, chaos existed in nearly all aspects of government. The Louisiana State Legislation enacted a law which gave them the authority to reconstruct the configuration of the school board. From 1870 to 1873, the board consisted of 11 members. Five members were appointed by the city council and six members were

appointed by the state, giving the state control of the board (Orleans Parish School Board Collection, as cited in Kennedy & Dennis, 2009).

In 1868, a constitution was adopted by the Louisiana State Legislature requiring schools to be opened without segregation by race. Some resistance existed to this change; however, in 1871, the schools in New Orleans became the first in the South and among a few in the nation to racially integrate. During the years of 1871-1874, many public schools in the city functioned smoothly as integrated educational institutions. It was reported in 1874, that 500 to 1,000 African-American students and thousands of white students attended 19 mixed race schools (Blokker, 2012; Cowen, 2007).

Strong resistance to integration and resistance to the Republican Party's dominance led to the creation of white supremacist organizations. In 1874, an attempt to integrate an all-girls high school initiated white mob violence at the school. Then white supremacist groups began to forcibly eject black students out of integrated schools. This led to street clashes between white and black citizens. After the violence, the number of black students attending mixed race schools declined. However, in 1874, there were still 300 black students enrolled and attending integrated schools. When Union troops departed the state in 1877, the public schools were again segregated along racial lines (Cowen, 2007).

From 1873 to 1877, the Board of Directors of the Public Schools of Orleans Parish increased to 20 members. The state appointed the majority of the Board members (Orleans Parish School Board Collection, as cited in Kennedy & Dennis, 2009).

At the end of Reconstruction in 1877, the state legislation established a new board that consisted of 20 members with four-year terms. The city council appointed 12

members and the state appointed eight members to the board. Although the council's increased number of appointees gave it more authority over the board, the state continued to have a powerful voice in the decisions of the board (Orleans Parish School Board Collection, as cited in Kennedy & Dennis, 2009).

In 1888, another reshuffling occurred with the school board. The number of members on the board remained at 20; however, the city council appointed 12 people to the school board and the governor appointed eight members to the board. This form of governance remained in existence until 1906 (Orleans Parish School Board Collection, as cited in Kennedy & Dennis, 2009).

In the book, *Souls of Black Folks*, Dr. W. E. B. Dubois ([1903] 1994) the famous American sociologist, educator, and civil rights leader wrote, "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line....What shall be done with Negroes?" (p. 9). This author perceived, that Dr. Dubois was saying that the dominant issue in the 20th century would be racial relations between African Americans and whites. That theme was certainly prevalent during 20th century New Orleans.

The 20th century Jim Crow laws changed the early cooperative multicultural existence that permeated New Orleans prior to the Civil War.

African Americans and Creoles, once a vibrant part of the city's culture and social scene, were now excluded and marginalized in the city they helped found. A rare American city that started off with various ethnic groups for the most part getting along had become like most American cities in the 50s and 60s with racial tensions that occasionally broke out in riots. (The Institute, 2012 p. 1)

During these troubling times in America, it appeared that race was also an apparent division in New Orleans. One rare distinguishing feature that sat the city apart from other cities was even though there was widespread racial tension; during Mardi Gras and other festivals it seems that the citizens of New Orleans could put their differences aside to enjoy the celebrations (The Institute, 2012).

From 1906 to 1912, the citizens of New Orleans for the first time were given the democratic right to elect their school board members. The total number of members to the board remained at 20, which included the Mayor, city comptroller, city treasurer, and 17 elected members representing the city's wards. In 1912 the state legislature dismembered the ward elected board members and in its place the state instituted a five-member school board elected city wide. This form of oversight of the public schools remained until 1916 (Orleans Parish School Board Collection, as cited in Kennedy & Dennis, 2009).

In 1916, by constitutional amendment, the school board was officially separated from city government. This separation gave the school board its own funding source. That same year, the name of the board was officially changed from the Board of Directors of Public Schools of the Parish of Orleans to the Orleans Parish School Board (OPSB). The OPSB consisted of five citywide elected members, with each member serving six-year staggered terms. The latter stipulation was put in place so that the members could not be replaced at the same time by a political power in the city, such as the mayor. This form of governance lasted for 72 years, until 1988 (Orleans Parish School Board Collection, as cited in Kennedy & Dennis, 2009).

Besides the innovative changes documented above, during this period a significant growth in students attending the public schools in New Orleans was also realized. From 1910-1940, African-American enrollment in the public schools in New Orleans more than quadrupled, while students of the majority race enrollment increased by 50% (Cowen, 2007).

Despite the increase in enrollment, after Reconstruction the schools continued to be separate and unequal. A 1930s state report confirmed the separate and unequal conditions. From 1939 to 1940, the state's expenditure to educate a white child was \$62.99, and for an African-American child the state's expenditure was \$17.17. From 1937-1938, the average annual salary for white teachers was \$1,193, and for African-American teachers the average annual salary was \$504 (Cowen, 2007).

The United States Supreme Court on May 17, 1954, delivered one of the most monumental rulings in the history of the Court. The *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* ruling held that "segregation of public education based on race deprived minority children of equal educational opportunities in violation of the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment." This unprecedented ruling was the "catalyst for systemic change" in the country. It initiated "school desegregation efforts and culminating in the civil rights movement and a generation of heightened consciousness for African Americans and other disenfranchised groups...[and] spawned an era of equal educational opportunities" (Russo, Harris, & Sandidge, 1994, p. 1).

The famous and historical 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision did not make school integration in New Orleans an easy process. In spite of the decision, the Louisiana legislature passed bills to continue segregation in the state. In 1956 federal

judges ruled against the state's segregation bills and overturned the Board's segregation policy. Throughout the state, white groups formed in support of segregation in spite of court-mandated desegregation (Cowen, 2007).

In 1960 after disregarding a Board-initiated survey that indicated a slight majority of citizens favored keeping the schools open if the courts mandated desegregation, the Louisiana legislature passed a bill giving Governor Davis control of the schools in New Orleans. On September 7, 1960, Governor Davis ordered the schools to open, but as segregated institutions. On November 14, 1960, two months after the governor took control of the schools, four black female students protected by police and federal marshals walked past shouting white mobs and integrated the first white schools in New Orleans since Reconstruction (Cowen, 2007).

A.P. Tureaud, a French Creole native was a famous, tireless and effective civil rights attorney. Representing the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc., he filed suit against Orleans Parish School Board to assure that they abided by the Brown decision. Legal fighting and social unrest existed in the city and integration of the public schools still was not realized a decade later (Cowen, 2007).

During the 1964-65 academic years, 873 African Americans attended desegregated schools even though the majority of students (over 100,000) in the public schools were African Americans. The NAACP, irritated and growing impatient by the slow segregation process of the city schools returned to the federal courts. The federal judge ordered all grades in the school district integrated by the 1969-1970 academic year (Cowen, 2007).

“In the era of desegregation, New Orleans public schools have faced the same problems affecting many urban school districts: white and middle-class flight, a predominantly high-needs population of students, and decreasing public investment in education” (Cowen, 2007, p. 4). In the ten-year period following the forced desegregation of New Orleans Public Schools, white enrollment decreased by over half and African-American enrollment slightly increased, but then began to decline. In the 1960-1961 academic years, African Americans made up 58% of the student body. However, by the 1980-1981 academic years, African Americans represented 84% of the student population (Cowen, 2007).

In 1988 another constitutional amendment authorized a seven-member elected school board. Five members of the board represented city districts and two members were elected citywide (Orleans Parish School Board Collection, as cited by Kennedy & Dennis, 2009).

In 2004-2005, the school year prior to Hurricane Katrina, African Americans made up 94% of the students enrolled in public schools in New Orleans. Upper and middle-class whites and African-American families abandoned the public schools as the conditions and situations worsened. Because of this flight, the population of students in the school system was primarily poor and at-risk. In 2005 the year Hurricane Katrina came ashore, this unfortunate plight was indicative in school test scores, which ranked the public schools in Orleans Parish 67th out of 68 Louisiana parishes in student achievement (Cowen, 2007).

As was previously described in this dissertation, poverty was a pervasive problem in New Orleans long before Hurricane Katrina and primarily for a segment of the

African-American population group. Additionally, this writer also documented that prior to Hurricane Katrina the public school system, mostly made up of poor African Americans was failing the students in New Orleans. The system was broken both academically and financially (Heilman & Robinson, 2008; O'Neill & Thukral, 2010).

According to one educator, the public schools in New Orleans before Hurricane Katrina were some of the worst in the nation. He wrote as a college-admissions counselor, he would visit public and private high schools in New Orleans. At that time, he only visited one public high school, Benjamin Franklin Senior High School known for its outstanding academic program and reserved for the city's top students. Even at this top school, the building was so bad that he had to counsel students in a bus outside the building. School facilities were neglected and deteriorating (Chieppo, 2013).

Fractured academics and inadequate facilities weren't the district's only problems. There was a high turnover of personnel including the superintendent. New Orleans Public Schools had eight superintendents between 1998 and the 2005 academic school year (Cowen, 2007).

The system was also plagued with financial mismanagement. At one point, prior to Katrina, there was so much corruption in the public schools in New Orleans until the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) established a satellite branch in the central office (Chieppo, 2013). The New Orleans Public Schools federal investigation was conducted by Special Agents with the Federal Bureau of Investigation and Internal Revenue Service Criminal Investigation, and Inspectors with the Department of Education Inspector General's Office (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2009).

It was announced in a March 5, 2009, FBI written publication, entitled *Federal Judge Sentences Two Major Orleans Parish School Board Probe Figures*, that three employees received sentences ranging from imprisonment to probation primarily for bribing a former OPSB Manager. Each defendant was also ordered to pay a fine. At the time of the public announcement, the federal investigation had convicted 27 employees by accepting a guilty plea or a jury verdict (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2009).

Additionally, by the time Hurricane Katrina blew through New Orleans, the school system had accumulated a debt totaling \$265 million (Cowen, 2007). Public education in New Orleans was deteriorating and little was being done to fix it. In an effort to improve the situation, the OPSB placed Alvarez and Marsal, a financial turnaround firm, in charge of the bankrupt city school system's finances (Zanders, 2015). This decision initiated an influx of complaints by disgruntle parents, community leaders, employees and the union.

Today, the OPSB continues to have seven elected members, however now each of the members represent the seven school board districts and serve four years concurrent terms (Cowen, 2015; Orleans Parish School Board Collection, as cited in Kennedy & Dennis, 2009). During the 2014-2015 school year, the elected members of the OPSB governed only 20 schools out of 82 public schools in the city (Cowen, 2015).

In contrast, under the jurisdiction of the RSD, presently 42 charter school boards provide oversight to 75 public charter schools. The administrators of these charter schools have the complete authority in hiring and firing staff, allocating budgets and negotiating contracts (Cowen, 2014).

Was educational reform needed in New Orleans? Did a broken public education system need repair? (Heilman & Robinson, 2008; O'Neill & Thukral, 2010). This writer answers yes to both questions, but disagrees with the manner in which the BESE and the LDOE chose to implement educational reform in the public schools of New Orleans (Buras, 2015; Dixson et al., 2015).

Recovery School District Law, Act No. 35 and the Development of Charter Schools

The Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary (2007) defined a hurricane as "a tropical cyclone with winds of 74 miles (119 kilometers) per hour or greater that occurs especially in the western Atlantic, that is usually accompanied by rain, thunder, and lightning, and that sometimes move into temperate latitudes" (p. 606). On August 29, 2005, two weeks after the opening of the school year for New Orleans Public Schools, Hurricane Katrina arrived on shore. Even though New Orleans survived the storm, the next day the city's federally built levees collapsed allowing the waters of Lake Pontchartrain to flood the city. For two weeks following the levees breach, 80% of the city had as much as 12 feet of water. Tens of thousands of residents were trapped on the roofs of their homes, in the Louisiana Superdome, and the Ernest Morial Convention Center (Institute, 2012).

Hurricane Katrina swept into New Orleans, leaving an unprecedented trail of destroyed homes and more than 400,000 displaced citizens (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). The business district and tourist areas were mostly undamaged by the storm and levee failures; however, many of the neighborhoods were inundated with destruction from

water and wind damage. This unrivaled destruction made Hurricane Katrina the largest residential disaster in the history of this country (The Data Center, 2014).

The National Center for Biotechnology Information (2008) identified 971 deaths in Louisiana and 15 deaths of evacuees to other states. The major causes of deaths among Louisiana citizens were 40% drowning, 25% injury and trauma, and 11% heart-related illnesses. Forty-nine percent of the victims were elderly people over the age of 75. Fifty-one percent of the victims were black and 42% were white.

In Orleans Parish, the death rate among African Americans was 1.7 to 4 times higher than whites for all people over the age of 18 years. According to The National Center for Biotechnology Information (2008), “Hurricane Katrina was the deadliest hurricane to strike the US Gulf Coast since 1928” (p. 2). The United States Coast Guard (2015), credited for rescuing more than 33,500 people from rooftops and flooded homes, identified the storm as the worst natural disaster in the history of the United States.

The researcher’s personal journal reflections directed to God follow:

Reflection #1

In the early morning of Monday August 29, 2005, this writer informed the Lord that Hurricane Katrina had come ashore and was destroying New Orleans. She asked God for mercy, forgiveness of sins, and to save lives. The researcher also alluded to the fact that she knew why God was destroying New Orleans. She closed this first entry, the day the flood waters of Hurricane Katrina destroyed New Orleans with prayers of praise, thanksgiving, mercy, and love. The researcher also concluded the entry by asking the Lord if Hurricane Katrina was the angel that He had promised to send (J.C. Moore, Personal Communication, 2005).

Reflection # 2

On Tuesday, August 30, 2005, after being secluded in Birmingham, Alabama without electricity and communication devices for many hours, the author of this dissertation was notified of the levee breach and that 80% of New Orleans was submerged in 20 feet of water. The researcher opened her journal entry by quoting from the book of Job. The scriptures provided insight into the life of a human being on earth. Job wrote that a man's time on earth would be brief, however filled with problems. He explained that the flood waters not only washed away the land, but also destroyed the hope of man, by dislodging him and taking away his peace. This writer was able to see her life's journey reflected in this scripture, but also recognized God's mercy revealed in her life. The entry concluded with prayers of confidence in the faithfulness of almighty God, prayers of thanksgiving and love (J.C. Moore, Personal Communication, 2005).

Reflection # 3

On Friday, September 2, 2005 the author of this study was filled with compassion and empathy while viewing the poor, trapped, and powerless people in the Louisiana Superdome and the Ernest "Dutch" Morial Convention Center who were suffering, starving, and begging for assistance. These individuals were labeled criminals and refugees by the United States government, but who were really unfortunate victims of a horrible flood and a systemic problem known as poverty. The researcher knew these victims, because they were representative of the population group the author spent 29 professional years sustaining. This writer asked God for guidance to know what He

wanted her to do to help the people viewed via media, not only by her, but by the entire world.

In this entry, the author also thanked God for saving a family member from his roof and possible death, and also verbalized much appreciation for the help received from the people in Birmingham, Alabama. Prior to closing the entry, the researcher asked God to direct her path and declared her forever love for Him (J.C. Moore, Personal Communication, 2005).

The children and families who were transported out of New Orleans immediately following the storm, who were mostly African Americans, found themselves displaced from their homes and communities without the financial means to return. In a 2009 comprehensive study conducted by the United States Census Bureau for the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), the researchers looked at the length of time citizens of New Orleans were displaced, the number and types of places they resided in when they were homeless, and if they had settled in permanent housing (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011).

The results of the 2009 American Housing Survey indicated that four out of every five displaced residents reported that they moved away from the area for at least two weeks, relocating a median of two times. Eighty-three percent reported living in a house or apartment during their displacement. Thirty-one percent stayed in a hotel, motel, or cruise ship during their displacement. Thirty-one thousand, five hundred still were not permanently settled four years after the storm. The study revealed that the latter group of displaced residents was more likely to be young, renters, and African-Americans with low incomes (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011).

Post-Katrina, the population of New Orleans decreased by 254,502 which was over half of the people that lived in New Orleans prior to the storm. The number of people living in New Orleans dropped from 484,674 before the storm to 230,172 after the storm in July 2006. By July 2012 the population increased to 369,250 (The Data Center, 2014). As has been previously documented in this dissertation, the majority of people living in New Orleans are African Americans.

Those residents who did return to New Orleans with the purpose of rebuilding their lives and the city they loved have struggled with insurmountable challenges. Without adequate housing, they were forced to live on the streets, in crowded houses or in unsafe FEMA trailers. Harden and Washington (2009) wrote, “In post-Katrina New Orleans...the number of homeless people is well above the national average and is approximately four times higher than major cities that have high homeless populations” (p. 22). All have had to live in a city in which violence and crime have escalated.

In his 1903, *The Talented Tenth*, W. E. B. Dubois (as cited in the New Jersey State Library Digital Collections, 2011) wrote that, “Education is that whole system of human training within and without the school house walls, which molds and develops men” (p. 1). The researcher surmised that the underserved African-American population of New Orleans has had more than their share of human training without the school house walls. All will forever be molded by the experience of surviving Hurricane Katrina, its aftermath and a United States government that viewed them as refugees and criminals rather than citizens of this country, who were victims of a catastrophic storm and levees failure.

In a second study, the authors discussed restoration needed in New Orleans and Mississippi after Hurricane Katrina to successfully return the evacuees' home. The researchers reported that the legacy of Hurricane Katrina was the importance for systems (individuals, families, communities and agencies) to be prepared for natural disasters and their possible impact (Heilman & Robinson, 2008).

Michael McGuire (2010), a professor at the School of Public and Environmental Affairs at Indiana University-Bloomington discussed if government officials at all levels were prepared if another Hurricane Katrina struck this country in 2020. He concluded that progress had been made since the storm, but more needed to be done to develop and implement greater strategic plans which was a necessary prerequisite to effective disaster management in future years (McGuire, 2010).

As was previously documented, when Hurricane Katrina devastated New Orleans approximately 65,000 students and over 7,500 educators in New Orleans were displaced from their schools. The majority of the students and educators were African Americans. Hurricane Katrina also destroyed or gravely damaged an overwhelming number of the public school buildings in the city. In regards to the infrastructure, out of the 128 buildings owned by OPSB, 112 of them were damaged by the flood waters. In the Lower 9th Ward and Lakeview neighborhoods all the schools were destroyed (Cowen, 2007; O'Neill & Thukral, 2010).

On September 15, 2005, 17 days after the storm, in a special session the OPSB "approved a resolution to place employees on disaster leave as a result of Hurricane Katrina given the emergency closure of all schools and the subsequent lack of revenues" (p. 9). The Board's minutes reads in part:

Due to Hurricane Katrina the Orleans Parish School Board hereby places all of its teachers, administrators, and employees on disaster leave effective August 29, 2005. The disaster leave shall be without compensation or benefits including any payment of accrued sick or vacation time and without accrual of seniority or other benefits. (Orleans Parish School Board Minutes, 2005, p. 9)

The so-called disaster leave immediately stopped salaries and benefits to the OPSB's employees. Even though education in Louisiana had been disrupted for years by hundreds of hurricanes, disaster leave status did not exist prior to Hurricane Katrina, and this policy only existed for employees of OPSB. No other parish or school district in the state enacted such leave on their employees (New Orleans Public School Employees Justice, 2014).

Cecil Picard (2005), the Louisiana Superintendent of Education at the time, wrote a letter to Margaret Spellings, the U.S. Secretary of Education, dated September 14, 2005 (one day before the above mentioned school board meeting), and advised her that eight school districts had been "severely impacted by the hurricane" (Picard, 2005, p. LDOE-1841). However, none of the other employees in the seven other school districts were placed on disaster leave (New Orleans Public School Employees Justice, 2014).

In this same correspondence, Mr. Picard (2005) asked for policy waivers for all school districts in Louisiana in regards to regulations connected to the *No Child Left Behind Act*. He also wrote,

In talking with Florida Department of Education officials about last year's hurricane issues, we learned that they continued to pay their staffs and requested that the staff either help to rebuild the schools, work in a shelter or perform other

community work, or deal with their emergency family situations while their home schools were closed. This was done for several reasons, but mainly to assist in retaining staff for when the schools reopened. Of course, they still lost a large percentage of staff members who found other jobs and/or moved away. In Louisiana, our situation is much more drastic. Several school systems are only able to make one more payroll. After that, their employees will be on unemployment or will need to find other work. These employees are very concerned with their livelihood, health insurance coverage, and just being able to cover basic needs. (Picard, 2005, p. LDOE-1842)

Picard further proposed,

To facilitate the orderly and timely distribution of any special federal appropriation to school districts and schools in Louisiana, I am requesting that the Department of Education be allowed to perform as the fiscal agent and administrator for any special federal appropriations through the United States Department of Education for Louisiana school districts and schools. (Picard, 2005, p. LDOE-1843)

On December 30, 2005, President George Bush signed into law *Title IV -*

Hurricane Education Recovery Act, Subtitle A – Elementary and Secondary Education

Hurricane Relief. The Act provided \$645 million emergency funds for displaced

students, \$5 million for homeless youth, and \$750 million to immediately restart school operations. In a letter to state educational agencies, including Mr. Picard, U.S. Secretary of Education, Margaret Spellings (2005) announced that under the *Restart Program*, the

U.S. Department of Education would immediately disburse \$100 million to Louisiana, \$100 million to Mississippi, \$50 million to Texas, and \$3.7 million to Alabama.

The *Hurricane Education Recovery Act* (2005) prohibited recipients from using the funds to supplant aid received from The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). Overall, the United States Congress sent \$500 million to Louisiana to support public school employees after Hurricane Katrina. Additionally, FEMA gave \$1.8 billion to rebuild public schools (Zanders, 2015).

Instead of using the funds to pay “employees [who] are very concerned with their livelihood, health insurance coverage, and just being able to cover basic needs” (Picard, 2005, p. LDOE-1842), Louisiana used the money to pay a New York financial consulting firm \$29.1 million to develop and implement a recovery disaster plan. They also paid a company from Texas \$20 million to provide school security and approved an out-of-state recruitment incentive package totaling \$17,300 per teacher (Zanders, 2015).

In November 2005 with the support of the then Governor Kathleen Blanco, the Louisiana Legislature passed Act 35, a state takeover bill. The *Louisiana Recovery School District Act No. 35, House Bill No. 121* (2005) raised the definition of failing schools with a school performance score of 60, on a scale of 200 to 87.4, just below the state average and provided for the transfer of certain schools to the recovery school district. The Act gave the Louisiana Department of Education the authority to assert that most of the schools in New Orleans were failing. On November 30, 2005, the RSD took over 102 of 126 schools in New Orleans. The RSD, a state-run entity was charged with opening and operating the state-takeover schools (Buras, 2015; Cowen, 2007; Zanders,

2015). The bill also eliminated the employment and rights of thousands of employees of New Orleans Public Schools (UTNO Update, 2005; Zanders, 2015).

Although Act 35 was a state law, its mandates specifically targeted the public schools located in New Orleans, who were populated by a majority of black students and educators. Prior to the Act's passage, state government officials manipulated the numbers to guarantee that they would be able to take over a large number of schools only in New Orleans. One mandate of Act 35 stipulates that the RSD would not be able to gain control of a failing school located in a district with fewer than 30 schools. Fifty of the 64 public schools districts located in Louisiana have fewer than 30 schools. Relative to the 14 remaining districts with more than 30 schools, the state took control and opened charter schools only in New Orleans immediately following Hurricane Katrina (Buras, 2015).

It is critical to note that at the end of the school year prior to Hurricane Katrina, 88 of the 126 public schools in Orleans Parish had either met or surpassed the state's policy for adequate yearly progress. The 88 schools were not failing according to the state's mandate and 93 schools were exhibiting academic growth (Zanders, 2015).

At the OPSB December 9, 2005, board meeting, it passed a resolution to terminate all inactive employees, which included all employees placed on disaster leave. A termination letter dated February 22, 2006, and signed by Superintendent Ora Watson was mailed to employees' pre-Katrina addresses. However, because of the slow rebuilding of the city and problems with communication, many school board employees did not receive the missive (New Orleans Public School Employees Justice, 2014; Zanders, 2015).

In March 2006 the Orleans Parish School Board dissolved the teacher's union and on March 24, 2006, sent a second letter officially terminating over 7,500 employees (including all the teachers) without justifiable cause or due process (New Orleans Public School Employees Justice, 2014). The fired school board employees were not given the opportunity to appeal their termination or to be recalled as local schools reopened (Zanders, 2015). The majority of these educators were African Americans and their firing had a disastrous impact on the racial balance of the educational community, as well as the Black middle class population in New Orleans (Dixson et al., 2015).

Since, a class action law suit has been filed against the OPSB and the Louisiana Department of Education (LDOE) on behalf of the 7500 unjustly terminated employees. On June 20, 2012, the trial court ruled that the school employees' right to due process was violated (New Orleans Public School Employees Justice, 2014).

In the judgment, the trial court judge wrote that the LDOE requested \$770 million from the U.S. Department of Education to pay the salaries and benefits of out-of-work school employees, but they actually received over \$500 million dollars in post-Katrina federal Restart Funds. The funds received from the federal government were not used to cover the salaries or benefits of the Plaintiff Class, who were certified, tenured, state-approved public school teachers or educators holding a regular or permanent status. Rather, the State Defendants diverted the federal funds to finance the opening and operation of the RSD. The trial court judge also wrote that OPSB did not implement a Reduction in Force (RIF) according to the Board's policy and the class members terminations were not in accordance with Louisiana state law, as well as OPSB's policy. The Court ruled against the LDOE and the OPSB and awarded monetary compensation,

including lost wages and fringe benefits, to the terminated educators (Honorable Ethel S. Julien, 2012).

On January 15, 2014, the Louisiana Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, in a unanimous decision, ruled that the unjustifiably terminated employees, including “principals, teachers, paraprofessionals, central office administrators, secretaries, social workers and other employees who provided instructional, administrative, food services, security, maintenance, transportation and other services” (Louisiana Federations of Teachers, 2014, p. 1) were deprived of their protected constitutional right to be recalled to employment. The judgment of the appellant court meant that all tenured employees of OPSB who were terminated had to be paid two years’ salary by the Board. And some teachers, who met a certain criteria, had to be paid an additional year by the State of Louisiana (Honorable Chief Judge James F. McKay, III et al., 2014; Louisiana Federations of Teachers, 2014; New Orleans Public School Employees Justice, 2014).

The OPSB and the State of Louisiana petitioned the Louisiana Supreme Court to review the ruling. On October 31, 2014, the Louisiana Supreme Court reversed the rulings of the two lower Courts and dismissed the suit. Chief Justice Bernette Joshua Johnson and Justice Jefferson D. Hughes, III voted against dismissing the case. In her six page dissenting opinion, Chief Justice Johnson wrote:

I agree with court of appeal’s finding that the Oliver plaintiffs were deprived of their constitutionally protected property right to be recalled to employment without due process of law. This court has held that Teacher Tenure [Pg. 6] Laws should be liberally construed in favor of their primary beneficiaries, tenured employees. Additionally, this court has held that a school board must adhere to

the procedures set forth in the Teacher Tenure Law. It is well established that a teacher's right in employment is a statutorily created vested property [*72] right protected by federal and state constitutions, requiring that certain procedural steps are followed before a teacher is terminated.

At the time of the Reduction in Force ("RIF"), La. R.S. 17:81.4 required the OPSB to adhere to minimum standards when reducing workforce. The plaintiffs were denied due process because they were entitled to, but not afforded, the procedural protections of the OPSB's Policy. The OPSB Personnel Policy 4118.4-R is consistent with the requirements of La. R.S. 17:81.4...OPSB Personnel Policy 4118.4-R required that a mandatory recall list be created to fill vacant positions resulting from a RIF. The OPSB clearly violated its own policy by not creating the required recall list.

In my view, the record supports plaintiffs' claims of due process violations...For the reasons stated herein, I dissent from the majority opinion and would affirm the ruling of the court of appeal. (Chief Justice Bernette Joshua Johnson, Supreme Court of Louisiana, 2014, pp. 24-25; New Orleans Public School Employees Justice, 2014)

In March 2015 led by Attorney Willie M. Zanders, Sr., the attorneys representing the 7,500 former employees of Orleans Parish School Board petitioned the Supreme Court of the United States for a writ of certiorari requesting the Court to review the decision of the Louisiana State Supreme Court (On Petition for a Writ of Certiorari to the Supreme Court of Louisiana, 2015). In a May 18, 2015, press statement, Attorney Zanders announced that the Supreme Court of the United States refused to reestablish the

dismissed lawsuit of 7,500 unjustly terminated educators by New Orleans Public School Employees following Hurricane Katrina. However, he continued by announcing that the employees planned to file a formal request asking the United States Congress to investigate Louisiana's use of \$500 million in federal funds requested by the Louisiana Department of Education to assist unemployed educators after the storm (Johnson, 2015).

From 1862 when Union General Butler established a single Bureau of Education, to 2005 and the implementation of Act 35 and unprecedented school reforms, public schools in New Orleans were governed and managed by a single entity. Although the past tells us the governance of the public schools in the Crescent City was reconfigured and transformed many times, and political governmental powers warred for control, for 99 years all of the public schools in Orleans Parish were under the authority of a single, elected, independent body, OPSB (Orleans Parish School Board Collection, as cited in Kennedy & Dennis, 2009).

Similar to the three separate educational entities that existed historically in New Orleans, in post-Katrina New Orleans, public schools are governed by three entities: the state-run RSD, the OPSB, and a non-profit charter school operator (Cowen, 2012). As was previously documented, for the purpose of this empirical study the writer will concentrate her attention on the state controlled RSD.

The RSD was initially established by the LDOE in 2003 to turn around failing schools in the state. Prior to the storm, the RSD had taken control of five schools. Following Hurricane Katrina and after firing all the teachers, and seizing control of the majority of public schools (102 of 126) in New Orleans, the newly established RSD under Act 35, immediately sought charter school operators to manage the schools. The

OPSB was allowed to retain control of 16 schools which were designated viable schools. Twelve of those 16 schools soon sought charter school status (Trenkner, 2013).

Due to the firing of all the teachers and administrators the state claimed there was a teacher shortage. To staff the newly established state-run charter operated schools, the LDOE launched a nation-wide advertisement campaign for educational positions in the RSD. The BESE approved an impressive recruitment incentive package for out-of-state teachers and other staff who agreed to work in the RSD. Using the federal restart money the recruitment package included the following: “\$2500 relocation allowance, \$400/month housing allowance (one year only), \$5,000/year signing bonus (for two years). Total Package-\$17,300” (Zanders, 2015, p. 3).

Soon after, the state BESE entered into a contract with Teach for America. The displaced, fired teachers and administrators were replaced by young mostly white, inexperience recruits from Teach for America, New Leaders for New Schools and the New Teacher Project. Much like the directors and teachers John Angier Shaw imported to staff the schools for the Second Municipality during the early 1840s, these transplants were also from outside the city and had no knowledge of the culture and traditions of the city (Buras, 2015; Dixon et al., 2015; Zubrzycki, 2013).

One author provided some startling statistics of the current work force teaching the students in public schools in New Orleans. The author wrote,

In the 2010-11 school year, close to 40 percent of the 2,500 teachers across the city had been teaching for three years or less. Although that proportion was down from a peak of almost half in 2007-2008, it contrasts with the 2004-05 school

year, when about 17 percent of the city's teachers had been teaching for such a short time.

The racial makeup of the teaching force has also shifted. This school year [2013], 88 percent of the 44,000 public school students across the city are African-American, but only 49 percent of their teachers are, according to the Louisiana education department. Six years ago, 73 percent of the district's teachers were African-American. The percentage of white teachers has almost doubled – from 24 percent to 46 percent – in that time, while the percentages of Hispanic, Asian, and American Indian teachers have also increased. (Zubrzycki, 2013, p. 2)

In the article, she quoted one recruit, who said,

The competitive program [TFA] provided five weeks' training and helped placed them in schools.... 'We found ourselves in these classrooms with no training for what we were doing there and no connection to our students' cultures or communities. We'd expected that would be somehow part of the process of becoming teachers in New Orleans', said Ms. Sadtler, who grew up in Massachusetts. (Zubrzycki, 2013, p. 1)

The Teach for America recruits must commit to teach for two years, so the turn-over is high. Some argue that the high turn-over is detrimental to children learning and building positive relationships with the community (Zubrzycki, 2013).

With the destruction of the city, closing of the public school system, termination of the employees and the passing of Act 35, the Louisiana State Legislatures and educational leaders were determined to rebuild and reopen the school system with charter

schools. Kristen Buras (2015), an educational policy studies professor at Georgia State University, wrote that “White policy makers and education entrepreneurs were hell-bent on chartering New Orleans public schools, populated almost entirely by black students and unionized black veteran teachers” (p. 23). In 2005, OPSB had an operational budget of approximately \$400 million. Most of these funds were reallocated to the RSD and private operated charter schools, with only a few traditional public schools remained under the authority of OPSB (Buras, 2015).

During the 2012-2013 academic year, 84% of the students enrolled in public schools in New Orleans attended charter schools. During the 2013-2014 academic year, that number rose to 91%. During the 2014-2015 academic year, 46,000 students attended 82 public schools in New Orleans. Six of the 82 schools were traditional public schools, managed and operated under the auspices of the elected Orleans Parish School Board. During the same academic year, 93% of the 46,000 students attended public charter schools. This number included those students attending schools that received oversight from the RSD. The number of students attending public charter schools in New Orleans has grown proportionally each year since Hurricane Katrina and is far exceeding other urban schools districts in the nation in the percentage of students attending charter schools (Cowen, 2013; Sims & Rossmeier, 2015).

Charter Schools and Education Initiatives

What are charter schools? Are they a threat to traditional public schools? How do they impact the students and families they serve? Are their teaching methods

conducive to the learning style of African-American students? Have they proven to be a good system to educate African-American children?

Junge (2014) asserts that the proper name for this type of school is “chartered schools” (p. 14), but is commonly known as charter schools. According to the U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics (2013), a public charter school is a school that is financed by public funds and usually governed by a group or organization under a state or district authorizing the legislative contract or charter. The contract or charter exempts the school from some of the local or state regulations and rules. To receive the funds and autonomy, the school must meet the accountability standards outlined in the charter. To assess their compliance and progress, a school’s charter is reviewed periodically by the oversight group that approved the charter. The charter or contract can be revoked if the guidelines stipulated in the contract pertaining to curriculum and management are not followed and if the standards are not accomplished.

Charter schools are also defined as independent public schools of choice that are exempt from many of the state laws and regulations that apply to traditional district schools. For this exemption, the schools are expected to achieve a higher level of accountability for academic success than traditional public schools. They are usually operated by independent entities such as for-profit companies and nonprofit agencies (O’Neill & Thukral, 2010; Reckhow et al., 2015).

Additionally, it was noted that this type of school could be opened by private businesses, community groups, parental groups, teachers, universities, municipalities, and any other interested party as long as no more than three certified teachers were a member

of the sponsoring group (Louisiana Public Square, 2010). Laws governing charter schools vary by state, however in the majority of states, operators of charter schools are given flexibility in the hiring and firing of staff. They also are not required to employ administrators or teachers protected by the union. Operators of charter schools have flexibility regarding the school's budget, curricula, and programming (Stauberg, 2015).

The original concept of charter schools was developed in 1974 by Ray Budde, a University of Massachusetts professor. Professor Budde conceived charter schools as a means to free traditional public schools from the state and district's regulations that constrained them (Kolderie, 2005). Budde's charter school concept was embraced by Albert Shanker, the president of the American Federation of Teachers. Mr. Shanker had become frustrated with the manner in which education was being delivered in traditional public schools in this country. He felt that schools were being operated like factories with instructors lecturing to students for long periods of time and all the students were expected to learn successfully in the same way (Kahlenberg & Potter, 2014; Ravitch, 2010b; Stern & Hussain, 2015).

After his 1987 visit to a public school in Germany, Mr. Shanker envisioned public schools where teachers could undertake innovative ideas to reach students. As well, public charter school teachers could also become a powerful model that traditional public schools teachers could emulate. Part of Mr. Shanker's vision was that charter schools would be unionized, and students would see their teachers actually participating in the democratic process by making decisions for their schools (Kahlenberg & Potter, 2014).

Mr. Shanker envisioned a small group of teachers uniting to create a different type of school that would focus on reaching the students in an innovative, effective manner.

He thought teachers might experiment with team teaching and coaching, instead of lecturing to the students. He also thought this type of school would encourage students to openly share their ideas (Kahlenberg & Potter, 2014; Ravitch, 2010b).

Under Shanker's proposal, the schools would receive oversight and approval by a panel of individuals represented by the union, school board and outsiders. Ironically, Mr. Shanker envisioned that the teachers in the charter schools would have union representation. This is paradoxical since many charter school founders and operators empower management, not teachers, and oppose union involvement (Kahlenberg & Potter, 2014).

In Mr. Shanker's proposal of charter schools, he emphasized the importance of creating schools that honored diversity by "race, ethnicity, class or ability" (Shanker, 1988, as cited in Kahlenberg & Potter, 2014, p. 4). In his 1988 speech to the National Press Club in Washington, D.C., Mr. Shanker said, "We are not talking about a school where all the advantaged kids or all the white kids or any other group is segregated to one group. The school would have to reflect the whole group" (Shanker, 1988, as cited in Kahlenberg & Potter, 2014, p. 4).

The first law that authorized the establishment of a charter school was passed in 1991 in Minnesota (U.S. Department of Education, 2013). The members of the visionary group from the state of Minnesota who sponsored the initial chartering legislature were not politicians, but instead community, educational, and business leaders whose goals were to identify strategies to improve the traditional educational system. They wanted schools that would approach education and learning in innovative ways (Junge, 2014).

In 2014 the National Alliance for Public Charter Schools reported over 2.3 million students attended approximately 6,000 charter schools in 42 states and the District of Columbia. The organization also reported that close to a million students were on waiting lists for admission to these schools (Junge, 2014). Today, 43 states and Washington, D.C. have laws authorizing the establishment of charter schools. During the 2014-2015 academic year, more than 7,000 charter schools exist in this country, which accounts for over 7% of traditional public schools (Casey, 2015).

The majority of charter schools in this country are located in large cities. Instead of embracing Shanker's dream of charter and traditional schools collaborating with each other, supporters and operators of charter schools emphasize competition. In regards to race and the use of charter schools as a school reform strategy, proponents and opponents of the movement both find much to celebrate and criticize (Stulberg, 2014).

Proponents of charter schools debate if providing parents with choice will force both traditional and charter schools to enhance their educational opportunities through greater accountability. Advocates of the charter reform movement have connected choice to civil rights. Politicians have declared that school choice and the charter school movement is the civil rights movement of the 21st century. Other politicians argue that education is a civil rights issue. Other proponents of public charter schools assert that charter schools are providing services to students of minority population groups where traditional public schools have failed. They support this statement by claiming that charter schools expose children of color to caring, safe, and rigorous schools that both academically and socially, prepare students for adult life, college, and the workforce (Staubert, 2014).

Some advocates of the charter school movement use a cultural context to explain the success of charter schools. In using this cultural context, charter schools are described as compassionate, patronizing educational institutions that teach students how to think and act according to the middle-class traditional values of the majority race. Supporters of charter schools view them as the means to closing the achievement gap between students of the minority population groups and students of the majority population group. Advocates with different political views, see choice and charter schools as a way of reaching equity in education. They connect charter schools to the unsettled business of the civil rights movement, and for marginalized, children of color they promote charter schools as the solution to the failures of traditional public schools to educate them (Stulberg, 2014).

Many people have concerns about charter schools meeting the needs of students of color. One such concern is that the majority of charter schools are segregated schools, in contrast to their traditional counterpart. Opponents of charter schools are also concerned about charter schools promoting segregation based on class. Opponents of this form of education are concerned that charter schools promote inequality by creating differences between students (Stulberg, 2014).

Stulberg (2014) notes that skeptics of charter schools argue that they solicit high performing students with interested parents and leave the academically and behaviorally challenge students to traditional district public schools. Critics of the charter schools that serve low-income communities populated by families of color emphatically contend that they represent a “neoliberal attempt at privatization that would undermine public education and teachers unions” (Stulberg, 2014, p. 36). Those with this point of view

give examples of wealthy benefactors of the charter school movement who financially support them. Finally, opponents of the charter school movement charge that this type of education promotes values of the white middle-class which is harmful to students and families of color.

Casey (2015) writes that charter schools are mostly concentrated in urban areas such as, Cleveland, Detroit, Houston, New Orleans, Oakland, Philadelphia, as well as the 120,000-plus charter schools in Los Angeles, and the over 60,000 charter schools located in New York City. In these cities, the schools have been deliberately opened in communities where a large number of poor, disadvantage people of color live. This pattern of establishing charter schools in low-socioeconomic neighborhoods is a concerted effort to take advantage of underserved, disempowered people of color.

Mr. Casey (2015), the executive director of the Albert Shanker Institute, further asserts that since 2008, 4000 traditional public schools have closed, while charter schools have more than doubled. He asks the following: Are charter schools a threat to traditional public schools and teacher unions? He directs the readers of his essay to look no further than post-Katrina New Orleans to determine the answer to his question.

When Hurricane Katrina presented herself on the banks of New Orleans on August 29, 2005, charter schools were not new to Louisiana and had already been in existence in New Orleans. The *Charter School Demonstration Programs Law* was initially decreed in 1995. It was a pilot program allowing no more than eight school districts to voluntarily participate in the program. In 1997, the Law was revised allowing all school districts to participate, but capped the number of charter schools in the state to

42. In 2009 the stipulation of capping the number of charter schools in the state was removed from the law (O'Neill & Thukral, 2010).

In 2003 a constitutional amendment to the Law gave the BESE and the LDOE the authority to create the RSD. At that point, the RSD was a virtual school district which BESE could temporarily place failing schools that needed academic and operational alteration. The amendment also gave BESE the authority, through the RSD to take over unacceptable schools or allowed other entities to do so. The amendment further empowered BESE to gain control of the schools and appropriated the Louisiana state and local district per student share of the Minimum Foundation Program (MFP) for the failed schools (O'Neill & Thukral, 2010).

Louisiana's Charter School Law is a conglomeration of conventional charter procedures and other unique policies. As it relates to school structure, the Law is similar to other states by mandating a written performance contract which includes many exemptions of state and local government rules and regulations that constrict traditional public schools. It also requires a high level of performance and goal accountability for academic success and a per-student financial source (O'Neill & Thukral, 2010).

The uniqueness of the Louisiana's Charter Law pertains to governance. The Law permits for five different types of oversight structures and each is funded under a different formula, receiving a different per-student allotment of the MFP. To further complicate matters, the law requires that Types 1, 2, 3, and 4 charter schools enroll a certain percentage of at-risk students (O'Neill & Thukral, 2010).

Type 1 category of charter schools structure is similar to those seen across the nation. Within this category, the charter school is a new school under the authority of a

local school board. Type 2 charters are granted from the state when a local school district fails to authorize the charter (O'Neill & Thukral, 2010).

Type 3 charter schools are pre-existing traditional public schools who receive a charter from the local school district. This type of charter school controls its own budget and administrative matters. Type 4 category of charter school is authorized between the local public school district and BESE. It can be a pre-existing traditional school or a new school, however only students residing in the district can be enrolled in the school (O'Neill & Thukral, 2010).

Type 5 charter schools are those that were established since Hurricane Katrina, under the auspices of the *Louisiana Recovery School District Law, Act No. 35, First Extraordinary Session, 2005 House Bill No. 121*, and operate under the RSD on behalf of BESE. These schools were traditional public schools that were determined to be underperforming and needing transformation. These schools receive a variety of services from RSD, including transportation and school lunches (O'Neill & Thukral, 2010).

Type 5 charter schools cannot impose admission requirements and must admit every student who applies, as long as the school has not reached the maximum number of students quoted in the charter. This regulation is different from the other types of charters which may stipulate admission requirements related to the school's purpose and mission (O'Neill & Thukral, 2010).

Since the public schools in New Orleans were considered in crisis and a majority of the schools were transferred to the RSD, Type 5 charter schools enrolled students across the parish, with no consideration of residence or neighborhood. The application process is unified in all of the Type 5 charter schools and consists of a one page

demographic informational form, which intentionally omits questions pertaining to student's achievement, attendance, behavior, and special needs. Most families apply to several schools and once notified of acceptance choose what school they want to attend. Then they are required to submit further enrollment information per that school's policy (O'Neill & Thukral, 2010).

Besides the challenge of having five different types of charter schools, discrepancies exist in the legal status of the Louisiana's Charter Law. One critical distinction between the different types of charter schools in Louisiana is whether it is a school governed by a district or functions as its own district. Whatever entity or Local Educational Agency (LEA) that governs the school, at the state level the responsibilities and oversight are carried out by the department of education, which is the State Educational Agency (SEA) (O'Neill & Thukral, 2010).

As it pertains to Type 5 charter schools, the LEA is more complicated than other categories of charter schools in the state. Type 5 charter schools are autonomous LEAs, but are subject to the authority of the RSD, which is a component of BESE. Besides state responsibilities, the RSD also has responsibilities usually associated with a LEA (O'Neill & Thukral, 2010).

Confusing the matter even more, there is also a difference in funding Type 5 Charter Schools, which is based on the location of the school. For example, in the 2008-2009 academic year, Type 5 charter schools located in New Orleans received \$7100 per student, those located in Point Coupe Parish received nearly \$7200 per student and those in Caddo Parish received approximately \$8700, and Type 5 charter schools located in

Baton Rouge received \$9500 per pupil. These differences in funding are connected to the local revenues (O'Neill & Thukral, 2010).

It is critical to note that under the Louisiana's Charter School Law, the RSD is authorized to provide oversight to the charter school for a minimum of five years. After that period, once achieving certain criteria outlined in the Law and with the recommendation of the State Superintendent and approval of BESE, the schools may return to the local school district (O'Neill & Thukral, 2010).

It is also critical to assert that since the publication of the previous article, the state has revised the admission criteria for some of the Type 5 charter schools in New Orleans. After realizing from this education experiment that teachers and school administrators are not able to solve the deep seated problems of undisciplined students, the RSD has decided to make some of the charter schools selective enrollment schools. In the selective enrollment schools, attendance is restrictive to students who do not exhibit behavior problems and undisciplined students are excluded from attending the selective schools. Instead, undisciplined students attend other open admission charter schools. The RSD has now created two types of schools in its school district (Ferguson, 2015b).

Reckhow, Grossman, and Evans (2015) used an original survey to determine the public's views related to charter schools. In the telephonic study, conducted at Michigan State University in association with the Institute for Public Policy and Social Research, the researchers investigated the manner in which public attitude toward charter schools reflected the attitudes of members of interest groups and also politician's attitudes toward charter schools.

Over 1,000 residents of Michigan were told that the charter schools in the state received public funds, but were governed independently by the local school districts. The residents were asked to answer two questions pertaining to whether they favored or opposed increasing the number of charter schools in their neighborhoods. Secondly, they were asked their view on increasing the number of charter schools in Michigan's worst performing school districts (Reckhow et al., 2015).

Reckhow et al. (2015) summarized that the results of the survey indicated an ideological division on the establishment of charter schools in all categories. The conservatives were more supportive of the charter school movement than liberals. The authors concluded from the experiment that the charter school controversy was polarized along ideological views among respondents with an adequate amount of information, even without including the views of top elected officials (Reckhow et al., 2015).

The Tulane University Cowen Institute for Public Education Initiatives in partnership with the New Orleans Advocate conducted a random telephonic quantitative research opinion survey which polled 600 adults between April 7, 2015 and April 14, 2015. The purpose of this poll was to obtain the respondents' perceptions of the public education process that currently exist in New Orleans today. The racial make-up of the respondents who were selected to participate in the survey was 60% African-Americans, 34% white and 5% other. Those polled were asked to respond to a series of questions related to the current public school situation in New Orleans (Rossmeier & Sims, 2015).

The findings of the poll indicated that the majority of respondents believed that the charter schools had improved education in New Orleans; however they also felt that the schools still needed improvement. Additionally, the responses pointed out that the

people polled viewed the public schools in New Orleans as average and believed that the private schools were better. Finally, the survey indicated that those polled did not have confidence in Orleans Parish School Board to govern all the public schools in New Orleans (Rossmeier & Sims, 2015).

As was previously mentioned, the United States government does not own or regulate school systems, but instead each state and local government determine laws, policies, and regulations to monitor the educational process, standards, and curriculum. However, the federal government does provide direction and appropriation for educational programs in which both public and private schools participate in and the U.S. Department of Education supervises those programs (Cummings & Worley, 2009).

Two such recent educational initiatives, which have had a profound impact on public education (K-12), in New Orleans, as well as the entire country, are President George W. Bush's *No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB)* and President Barack Obama's *Race to the Top*. Both of these educational initiatives strongly support the creation of charter schools, especially in school districts where schools are considered to be low performing schools (Dye, 2013).

Public Law 107-110, more widely known as the *No Child Left Behind Act of 2001* was passed in part to improve the academic achievement and success of disadvantaged students (U.S. Department of Education, 2002). To assess performance, the law requires yearly testing of students in grades three through eight. The annual assessments are focused on mathematics and language arts and impose sanctions on schools that fail to reach the Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) (Dye, 2013).

NCLB has proven to be punitive. If schools do not reach the AYP in two years they are labeled failing schools and school districts are mandated to offer tutoring to those students (Peters, 2010). States may also implement corrective actions and restructuring measures to improve performance. These actions may include parents sending their children to another public school in the district or the opening of charter schools in the district (Dye, 2013).

Professional education organizations, teacher unions, and others in the education arena have been critical of NCLB. Critics argue that the law has the following problems: teaching the test; testing teachers themselves; merit pay for teachers based on test scores; punishing poor performing schools; mandating tutoring and vouchers, but not providing funding to cover the cost of the mandates; school choice for students enrolled in low-performing schools, and educational reform (Dye, 2013).

Martin (2015) argued that NCLB and the implementation of charter schools were contradictory initiatives instead of a concerted educational reform effort. The methodology used by the research team was an examination of documents over a three year period at ABC Public Charter School located in Washington, D.C. Documents reviewed consisted of reports, plans, programmatic descriptions, and others. The goal of the research was to assess over a three-year period the school's response to low test scores and NCLB requirements, which might affect instructional quality and move the school from its original mission.

The study's research questions focused on the impact of the AYP component of NCLB on an innovative, creative charter school and what mechanism the school would put in place to meet the mandates of the law. Specifically, how does the law's

requirement change the focus of the school from one area to focusing on other areas (Martin, 2015)?

Dr. Martin (2015) wrote that during the first year of the examination, the school attempted to keep to its mission and focused on it by implementing a comprehensive program that attempted to balance academic and non-academic areas. The academic year ended with 28.31% of the students scoring Proficient or Advanced in Reading, and 22.64% scoring the same in Math. These scores were unacceptable under AYP guidelines.

The second year yielded even more dismal results. There was a shift in focus and emphasis was placed on test practice. The second year again ended with low standardized test scores and failure to make AYP (Martin, 2015).

During the third year examined, ABC Public Charter School completely switched from its mission and directed attention more explicitly on test taking skills in English and mathematics. Additionally, since they didn't succeed with making AYP, the school officials were required to develop a School Improvement Plan (SIP) that was submitted to oversight agencies, families, and stakeholders. Because of the continuous low test scores and the SIP, ABC found itself teaching the test as the first priority in its academic program (Martin, 2015).

President Obama's educational agenda focuses on providing funding to poor inner-city schools. A component of his agenda is *Race to the Top*, an initiative in which states compete for federal grants based on educational reforms (Dye, 2013). The initiative is a \$4.35 billion United States Department of Education contest with the goal of igniting innovative school reform in state and local districts overseeing grades K-12

educational programs. The funding of this initiative is derived from the *American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009* (Cummings & Worley, 2015).

A second component to President Obama's educational agenda is parental choice in public education. This choice includes charter schools, magnet schools, and educational vouchers (Dye, 2013). Pertaining to charter schools, President Obama (2012) issued a proclamation naming the first week in May as National Charter Schools Week and was quoted to have said,

These institutions give educators the freedom to cultivate new teaching models and develop creative methods to meet students' needs. This unique flexibility is matched by strong accountability and high standards, so under-performing charter schools can be closed, while those that consistently help students succeed can serve as models of reform for other public schools. (Murray, 2012, p. 1)

In regards to charter schools, the Act contends that the Obama administration will support the development and expansion of high performing public charter schools and other independent public schools. The Act further elaborates that the administration will sustain local communities as they expand public school choice programs for students throughout school districts (U.S. Department of Education, 2010).

To be eligible for the *Race to the Top* funds, the states have to use students' test scores in evaluating the teachers' eligibility to enter the contest. Although a large number of states have competed for the funding, the initiative has been criticized by many entities. Policy experts, politicians, and educators have complained that the initiative is too political. Teachers' unions criticize the initiative for unfairly measuring teachers' performance by using unreliable test scores. Conservatives complain that the

initiative imposes federal guidelines on state governed schools. Opponents of the initiative complain that high-stakes testing is not reliable and that charter schools abate public education. They also contend that the reforms have not been proven and have not been successful in the past (Cummings & Worley, 2015).

One such opponent, Dr. Diana Ravitch (2010a), a historian of education in the United States since 1975 and also the assistant secretary of education for President George H. W. Bush, wrote that as NCLB's accountability spread across the nation's educational systems she initially supported the initiative to create charter schools. However she argued that over time, she became disillusioned with the charter school strategies that were once auspicious and promising. She stated that she was no longer encouraged that either approach (NCLB or charter schools) would achieve the improvement in the nation's educational program that we all had hoped for.

Dr. Ravitch (2010a) continued her dialogue by explaining that charter schools' records indicated that they enrolled smaller number of students whose English were limited and students with disabilities compared to traditional public schools. This troubling pattern indicated to her that students who were the hardest to educate were excluded from enrollment in charter schools and left to regular public schools, which made comparisons between the two sectors of schools unfair.

Dr. Ravitch (2010a), who described herself as a conservative educational advocate, further explained that,

The higher graduation rate posted by charters often reflects the fact that they are able to 'counsel out' the lowest performing students; many charters have very high attrition rates (in some, 50%-60% of those who start fall away). Those who

survive do well, but this is not a model for public education, which must educate all children....Given the weight of studies, evaluations, and federal test data, I concluded that deregulation and privately managed charter schools were not the answer to the deep-seated problems of American education....The Obama administration seems to think that schools will improve if we fire teachers and close schools. They do not recognize that schools are often the anchor of their communities, representing values, traditions and ideals that have persevered across decades. They also fail to recognize that the best predictor of low academic performance is poverty – not bad teachers. (p. 2)

Dr. Ravitch (2010a) also noted that a 2009 study conducted by the Stanford University, Center for Research on Education Outcomes (CREDO) evaluated the progress of students enrolled in charter schools on math tests. The research concluded that in the country's 5,000 charter schools, 17% of the students scored superior to an equal traditional public school, 37% of the students scored worse than the traditional public school; and the remaining 46% of the math scores were no different than that of a similar traditional public school. She summarized that becoming a charter school was not assurance that teaching students in a tough community would automatically produce educational success.

Dr. Ravitch (2010a), a self-proclaimed conservative, educational advocate and past supporter of NCLB, also has a blog to encourage a discussion relative to public education in the United States. Her blog is entitled "New Orleans: The Biggest Scam in the History of Public Education" (p. 1).

Margaret E. Raymond (2014) is the director of the Center for Research on Education Outcomes (CREDO) at Stanford University. In her February 2014 article, she offered the reader with what she identified as a critical view of the charter school debate. Raymond wrote that CREDO's 2013 study examined the performance of charter schools in 27 of the 43 states where charter schools operated. The study indicated that the average student enrolled in charter schools in the 27 states achieved greater success in reading than four years ago. This success she reported was the equivalent of 14 extra school days a year. In mathematics, the charter school students' performance was equivalent to an annual 21 extra days of schools.

Research on Reform was a New Orleans based action center founded with the sole purpose of collecting and analyzing data to ascertain if the 2005 education reform was achieving positive results. It was pertinent to note in this part of the study that Research on Reform had to sue the Louisiana Department of Education to obtain access to the same decoded student records data provided to the above CREDO Study (Ferguson, 2015a).

In Ferguson and Hatfield (co-founders of Research on Reforms) vs. Louisiana Department of Education, the Louisiana First Circuit Court of Appeal ruled that the decoded or raw data were public records under the *Louisiana Public Records Act*. This ruling was significant because with the raw data that the LDOE had to release to Research on Reform, an objective, unbiased analysis could be conducted pertaining to the results of the 2005 school reform. The authors argued that this was consistent with the Louisiana Legislation mandate that the results of the 2005 experiment had to be analyzed

so positive results could be repeated and negative results could be eliminated (Ferguson, 2015a).

“Do charter schools pose an existential threat to public education and teacher unions?” (Casey, 2015, p. 23). In an article entitled, *The Charter School Challenge*, the author opened his publication with that question. To address the question, he examined the political and intellectual challenges of charter schools and he also critiqued their development in New Orleans, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Washington, D.C., Chicago, Houston, Detroit, Los Angeles, and New York City (Casey, 2015).

Charter schools have more than doubled since 2008 in the United States, while 4,000 traditional district public schools have closed. The leadership of this movement, the charter school management (CMO) has assumed an opposing posture toward traditional, district public schools and teacher unions. Their competitive stance and criticism indicates that they view their growth and development to occur at the expense of the traditional, district public schools and teacher unions (Casey, 2015).

In Mr. Casey’s (2015) examination of the political challenge of charter schools, he identified the primary supporters of charter schools as conservative Republicans who strongly influenced the National Alliance of Public Charter Schools. As well, he identified others supporters of charter schools as members of the Democratic Party Wall Street wing that established Democrats for Education Reform. As conservatives in the Republican Party confront adverse demographic dynamics developing in this country, they view voter and union suppression as critical to maintaining electoral control.

In his deliberation of the intellectual challenge of charter schools, Casey (2015) wrote that most advocates of public education focused on charter schools being private,

relative to them being managed and governed by an independent board. However, a thorough examination of the intellectual analysis of charter schools needed to extend beyond management and governance structure. He argued that to address the intellectual challenge of charter schools there had to be an investigation of the policies and practices of the leadership of charter schools and those who supported their practices.

Casey (2015) began his investigation by rendering the reader with an understanding of what it meant for a school to be considered public. A school was public if its essential feature was that it existed for the public good. It was the route used in this country to accomplish certain objectives that were vital to the nation's existence and democratic rule. Those objectives included: socialization and enculturation of juveniles; developing critical thinking, analytical reasoning and problem solving skills important in a democratic society; nurturing students so they can become meaningful, purposeful, and productive members of society; preparing youth for the workforce; and advancing economic opportunity (Casey, 2015).

Private education could be purchased and disposed of as individuals chose to do so. However, education as a public good were representative of public schools funded by equitably distributed public funds; governed in a democratic and transparent manner; operated as a not-for-profit entity; educated all students without considering race, class or level of need; gave educators, families, and students the opportunity to voice their opinions; were evaluated on a standard performance metrics; were centers in the communities they serve, and educated to promote meaningful citizenship in a democratic society (Casey, 2015).

Charter school boards are usually populated by businessmen, the financial elite, and elected officials who promote the charter school concept. Family members, students, and representatives from the communities are not usually included on the board and most often know very little about the board. Executives of charter schools usually make a substantial amount of money not enjoyed by most public servants (Casey, 2015).

According to Casey (2015), charter schools usually receive more public money than a comparable district school. The author supported his point by publishing a summary of audits conducted on a prominent charter school chain and other charter schools located in New York City. To the former, he found that the prominent charter school chain received 54% more funding per student than other comparable district schools. As well, charter schools in New York City received \$2,000 more per public than district schools and they were also furnished with free buildings, utilities, food, janitorial, and security services (Casey, 2015).

In regards to enrollment of students, as has been previously documented, charter schools enroll fewer special needs students than their district school counterpart. In addition, charter schools are more racially and economically segregated for students of all races. This is because they tend to concentrate on educating either more of the very wealthy families or more of the very economically deprived families (Casey, 2015; Kahlenberg & Potter, 2014).

Casey (2015) further highlighted charter schools in Chicago, Illinois and Washington, D.C. that expelled students 12 times and 28 times the rate of traditional district public schools respectively. Relative to Chicago and other cities in this country, more young African-American males were in prison than in college (Casey, 2015). A

closer examination of Chicago revealed that since June 2001 there were 20,000 more African-American males incarcerated in Illinois prison system than enrolled in the state's university system (Alexander, 2012).

The argument was made that research verified that most students in traditional public schools outscored students attending charter schools (Casey, 2015). An additional study indicated that only a small number of charter schools outperformed traditional public schools (Casey, 2015).

A second publication focusing on Chicago's charter school movement disclosed that student achievement in the charter schools was worse than those students enrolled in traditional neighborhood schools. A principal of a neighborhood school who monitored the charter schools in the city was quoted as saying, "The students in those schools are losing out and the private management companies that benefit from the public dollars that flow into charter schools are benefiting from those students' loss" (Berkshire, 2015, p. 42).

Casey (2015) concluded that the legal definition of a charter school - managed by an independent board instead of a government agency - precluded it from focusing on the public good. He further contended that the major problem the public had to confront with charter schools were the private policies and practices adopted by most of the managers of these institutions. He ends his evaluation of charter schools by advising that if a school is given public money, then it should be a public school, educating for the good of all (Casey, 2015).

Transition is difficult in any organizational system, but transforming a system as complex as the fragmented public education system in our nation is an especially arduous

undertaking. Five reasons have been identified as to why reform efforts have not produced meaningful and noteworthy improvements in our nation's public schools. The reasons presented were "(1) the complexity of the task, (2) misplaced focus, (3) lack of clarity on intended results, (4) failure to appreciate and attend to the change process, and (5) lack of perseverance" (Dufour & Eaker, as cited in Cummings & Worley, 2015, p. 698).

In addition to the above five reasons for failure in school reform, treating schools like other businesses have also contributed to the failure in school reforms. The authors argue that educational institutions are different from other organizational businesses. Schools are more tightly entrenched in larger social systems than businesses. Schools are within local school districts that are governed by the policies of state educational departments. They are part of a community and in most schools parents play a critical role in governing the school their children attend. Finally, in the majority of schools parents not only influence what their children are being taught, they also impact the operation of the school (Cummings & Worley, 2015).

Consequences of Education Reform and the Charter School Movement in New Orleans

The so-called modern education, with all its defects...does others so much more good than it does the Negro, because it has been worked out in conformity to the needs of those who have enslaved and oppressed weaker peoples. For example, the philosophy and ethics resulting from our educational system have

justified slavery, peonage, segregation and lynching. The oppressor has the right to exploit, to handicap, and to kill the oppressed. (Woodson, 1933/2015, p. 5)

After the unprecedented destruction of New Orleans by Hurricane Katrina and the LDOE unparalleled take-over of a majority of the public schools in the Crescent City, many of the families returning to New Orleans were optimistic about the new direction the educational shareholders promised. After firing the teachers and other educators, the shareholders promised that school reform would consist of an excellent, top-rated public school system, where the needs of the students would be considered first. Unfortunately, these promises have not been realized by many of the students matriculating in the schools governed by the RSD or the African-American citizens residing in the city (Belway et al., 2010).

The charter schools in the Crescent City have been exalted as the savior for the children who matriculate in public schools in New Orleans. Much like Shaw's 1845 education system, which was hailed as a national model for other school districts in the nation to emulate, the current charter school movement in New Orleans has been designated the same elevated position by supporters of the movement in Louisiana and other parts of the country. However, as documented, the problems resulting from the 2005 reform is monumental to African-American students and citizens residing in the city.

A report entitled, *The State of Public Schools in Post-Katrina New Orleans: The Challenge of Creating Equal Opportunity*, was published by the Institute on Race and Poverty, at the University of Minnesota Law School (2010). The report concentrated on the rapid expansion of charter schools in New Orleans, and how it impacted race,

poverty, and school performance in the city. The study was commissioned by the Loyola Institute for Quality and Equity in Education.

The researchers reported that the reorganization of the schools in New Orleans by the 2005 reforms have created not only charter schools, but also unequal schools in the city. The reorganization steers most of the white students to a group of selective, high-performing schools and most of the black students to a conglomerate of low-performing schools, which are “schools of last resort” (Institute on Race and Poverty, 2010, p. 4).

There are significant differences in the performance of schools operated by the OPSB, RSD and the charter schools governed by the BESE. Students attending schools governed by the OPSB rank highest in school performance with the BESE’s schools and suburban schools ranking second. The performance scores of schools operated by the RSD lag behind the other two. The researchers argued that the significant performance levels were a result of the tier grouping of students that enrolled a majority of white and a few black students into higher performing schools and a majority of black, low-income students in low-performing schools (Institute on Race and Poverty, 2010).

The study continues by documenting that “racial and economic” segregation of students in the city is a “cause for concern” (Institute on Race and Poverty, 2010, p. 1). These segregation policies threaten chances in life and educational opportunities for low income children of color. In addition, the leaders of this education movement herald that school choice is an advantage of the RSD. However, school choice in itself is not an asset or empowerment mechanism when the choice guides black students to high-poverty and racially segregated schools (Institute on Race and Poverty, 2010).

The chief investigators recommended that the expansion of charter schools in the city be halted and there be a reevaluation of the decision to rely exclusively on this type of educational program to restructure the school system. They conclude the study by recommending that the equalization of the educational opportunities of all the students can be accomplished by reestablishing the relationship with the city's traditional public school district, increasing choice for parents to consider by opening magnet schools, and new district schools (Institute on Race and Poverty, 2010).

Another consequence to this reform system is highlighted in a number of reports published by the Louisiana, Southern Poverty Law Center (2010a). *Access Denied: New Orleans Students and Parents Identify Barriers to Public Education* provided statistical data and also heart breaking testimonies from students and parents of the treatment of special education students and school discipline policies in the charter schools.

It was reported in the 2007-2008 academic year, out-of-school suspensions in the RSD were more than twice the state average and four times more than the national rate. In the 2008-2009 academic year, 6,702 students received out-of-school suspension in the RSD that enrolled a total of 12,871 students that school year. Ninety-eight percent of the students enrolled in the RSD were black and 79% were from low-income families. It was documented that many of these suspensions were for minor offenses such as dress code violations and tardiness to school or class (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2010a).

The report also emphasized that those students who attended charter schools in the RSD were suspended three times more than students who attended schools in neighboring communities which were mostly white, affluent communities. Two of those neighboring schools districts were presented to illustrate these patterns. In the schools

located in bordering St. Tammy Parish, 18.5% of the students were black and 42.5% were from low-income families. In those schools, 8% of the students were suspended.

Schools located in neighboring St. Charles Parish yielded similar statistics. In that parish, 36.4% of the public school students were black and 45.1% were low-income. A mere 4.1% of the students were suspended (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2010a).

Regarding expulsion, during the 2007-2008 academic year, the RSD expelled students twice the state rate and 10 times the rate of other schools in the nation. Also, in the 2007-2008 school year, expulsions were recommended for 808 students and 323 of the recommended expulsions were upheld. In the RSD, during the 2008-2009 school year, the number of students recommended for expulsion increased to 1,016. Out of that number, 396 of the recommended expulsions were upheld. As students waited for their expulsion hearing, they frequently missed days, weeks, and months of valuable instructional time (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2010a).

An eighth grade student profiled in the study reported that he was handcuffed for giving candy to another student. A sixth grade student, who was in gifted reading classes in elementary school and described as a leader by one of his primary school teachers, alleged that the security guard hit him in the head with a billy club and slammed him to the ground. It was reported that the security guard's abusive action was a result of the student being involved in a fight. According to a ninth grade student, for being tardy to class, he received a number of suspensions and was then expelled from school. The two students profiled in the publication, whose schools offered the restorative justice program, praised it as a program that worked and kept them in school (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2010a).

The study described discipline in the RSD as a crisis, however, also underscored that the schools did not track the number of students exposed to brutal security practices such as “handcuffing, shackling, and physical assaults at the hands of untrained security officers” (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2010a, p. 3). The researchers summarized from the experiences shared by students presented in the publication that the abuses in the RSD were widespread. They concluded the study with a number of recommendations, which included the implementation of research-based discipline measures, positive behavior strategies, supportive systems, and restorative justice programs (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2010a).

It is worth noting again, after realizing that teachers alone cannot resolve the discipline problems of the students, the RSD created selective schools for well-behaved students who follow the school rules. Students who disrupt the educational process of other students are not allowed to attend the selective school (Ferguson, 2015b).

The *Individuals with Disabilities Education Improvement Act* (IDEA) is a federal law that mandates all schools, whether charter, private or traditional schools are mandated to provide students with disabilities equal access to public funded educational services. Besides classroom instructions, special education students have a right to receive supportive services such as social work, counseling, speech therapy, and other related services. The law also protects special education students from punishment and exclusion from schools for behaviors that are characteristic of their disability. Despite the federal requirements, the study illustrates that schools in New Orleans are excluding special education students, which are the students with the greatest needs (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2010a).

The report further acknowledged that because of their disability some special education students have been denied enrollment, forced to attend schools that did not offer the services they needed and was suspended in record numbers. Other students with disabilities were over-looked, because school personnel failed to identify them (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2010a).

The following statistical data is unfathomable. The graduation rate of special education students attending RSD schools is less than half of the total graduation rate in the state. As well, across the state 19.4% of special education students earn a high school diploma; in contrast, 6.8% of special education students in the RSD leave with a high school diploma (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2010a).

Additional statistics revealed that during the 2008-2009 academic year 30% of special education enrolled in the RSD were suspended. This rate was 63% higher than the state average. In the 2007-2008 school year, 94.6% of the RSD's eighth grade special education students failed the Louisiana Educational Assessment Program (LEAP) examination. In the same year, 78.3% of all eighth grade special education students who attended charter schools failed the LEAP. Throughout Louisiana, school districts have identified 12.2% of students eligible for special education services. Officials with New Orleans Public Schools determined that only 8% of students were eligible for special education services, which contrast with similar school districts across the country who classified twice as many students as eligible for the services (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2010a).

Profiled in the report was a mother of a blind, developmentally delayed, autistic 8-year-old boy. The mother said the first school he attended did not have materials,

services, or support staff to meet her son's needs. She further said that she attended school with him daily for weeks. During those visits, she observed that the teacher only taught the regular curriculum, did not provide accommodations for her son, such as books on tapes, which he received in the school he attended before moving to New Orleans. She also said that she presented to 8 different charter schools to complete admission applications. Five of those schools accepted her application, but said they would not be able to accommodate the needs of her child (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2010a). Parents of a 17-year-old child enrolled in a charter school in New Orleans was reported as saying, "What really upset me was when we had the meeting at the school and the special education chairperson told me...[that] '[A]ll we can do is cage your son. He is autistic'" (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2010a, p. 13).

The report provides a number of recommendations including creating a single entity that will be responsible in overseeing admissions and services to special education students. The report also requires each school in the city, including charter schools to accept and provide services to a percentage of special education students, ensure that the schools follow the federal guidelines, and equip them with the resources they need to teach students with disabilities (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2010a).

There is an existing federal civil rights lawsuit filed by the Southern Poverty Law Center on behalf of approximately 4,500 special education students. The majority of these students are enrolled in charter schools in the city and they have alleged that they have been denied access to appropriate services. The lawsuit is pending (Buras, 2015).

Highlighted in another publication, for minor violations of the school rules, students who attended Sarah T. Reed Elementary School were subjected to extreme force,

unlawful arrest, handcuffing, and shackled to a chair. The school is a charter school governed by the RSD. The Southern Poverty Law Center and the Juvenile Justice Project of Louisiana filed a federal class action lawsuit which opposed the handcuffing of a 6-year-old student, who was extremely traumatized by the incident. *J. W. v. Louisiana Board of Elementary and Secondary Education et al.*, commonly known as the New Orleans handcuffing case resulted in a settlement agreement reached in October 2010. The settlement includes the RSD eliminating the use of restraints and limiting the use of handcuffs. In addition, the RSD agreed to provide appropriate discipline training to all security staff (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2010b).

Children at Risk, also published by the Southern Poverty Law Center (2015), describe the Center's success in advocating for students in Louisiana. A portion of the information presented in the report indicated that the Southern Poverty Law Center filed suit and reached a settlement agreement with the Recovery School District which resulted in the district revision of its policy on students' restraints, with such extreme measures as using handcuffs. The authors wrote that there was still a lot of work that needed to be addressed in New Orleans in regards to students with disabilities access to a public education (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2015).

Collegiate Academies operates several charter schools in New Orleans. Collegiate Academies' suspension rates far exceed other schools in the city. One of the high schools it manages has suspended over 70% of its students. The schools that the private charter company operates are known for having "a harsh and punitive discipline culture" (Buras, 2015, p. 26) that violates the rights of students, threatens the safety and welfare of students, and deprive students of their education right under the state's

constitution. Loyola University New Orleans, College of Law has filed a civil rights complaint against the school that cited a high number of suspensions for minor infractions, not reporting student injuries to parents, and harassment of disabled students (Buras, 2015).

Similar to Shaw's earlier school district, many of the teachers in the charter schools were transplanted from other parts of the country. Previously mentioned, the imported recruits were paid a substantial incentive package to relocate to New Orleans (Zanders, 2015). Three years after the storm, 33% of the recruits were in their first or second year of teaching. In the 2010-2011 school year, 40% of the teachers had been teaching three years or less and half of them were white. The author of the study wondered if charter school operators would send their children to schools where the instructional staff never worked in a teaching position before (Buras, 2015). Additionally, once hired they receive limited training, their turn-over is high, and it has been reported that some of them are emasculating the male students (P.J. White, personal communication, 2013).

The low performance rating of the Recovery School District is another consequence of the charter school movement that directly impacts the African-American community in New Orleans. In 2011 all of the state-run Recovery School District schools received a D or F rating by the state and 79% of the other charter schools in the city received the same low performance score. In 2014 the Recovery School District performance score continued to be lower than the majority of other school districts in the state on the fourth and eighth grades tested by the Louisiana Educational Assessment

Program. The subjects tested on this assessment tool were language arts, science, and mathematics (Buras, 2015).

As required by state law, in 2014 public school students in fourth and eighth grade participated in the Louisiana Educational Assessment Program (LEAP) and students in grades 3, 5, 6, and 7 were administered the integrated LEAP, or iLEAP. Both standardized tests were intended to measure if a student had acquired the necessary knowledge and skills in a subject to be promoted to the next grade level. The results of the combined 2014 testing of students in New Orleans indicated that public school students in the city achieved below the state average. In addition, 63% of the students scored at the basic or higher level. Although in 2014, 91% of the students in New Orleans attended charter schools, the score ranked schools in New Orleans at the 44th best in the state which had 64 public school districts (Cowen, 2014).

Charles Hatfield (2012), a statistician and co-founder of Research on Reforms, has been collecting data on school performance since 2005. He concluded that the performance created by the 2005 school reform had been consistently disappointing (Buras, 2015; Hatfield, 2012).

Because of the poor performance score in 2010, Research on Reforms described the RSD as a school district in academic crisis. In his 2012 comprehensive report, Mr. Hatfield called attention to several tactics that the state was using to obscure the poor performance scores. In 2010-2011 the school performance score of 65 or below was given a letter grade of a D or F by the LDOE. In 2012 the school performance score was raised to 75, which made it very difficult to compare annual school progress. Even though the failing bar was raised from 65 to 75, the RSD increased from an F (69.2) to

scarcely above the new F of 75 with a score of 76.7. This latter score was equivalent to a D, which indicated that the RSD academic performance was very poor. Additionally, the report revealed that 77% of the schools governed by the RSD did not achieve their targeted growth for 2012 (Hatfield, 2012).

Another cunning tactic used by the LDOE to obscure the performance scores of the charter schools was to combine the scores of the RSD with the scores of a traditionally higher performing school district since 2005. They used the combined scores to affirm that the RSD should be a national model for other schools around the country to emulate. In reality, the RSD was one of the lowest ranking school districts in the state, while the schools governed by the OPSB were among the highest in the state (Hatfield, 2012).

In an August 25, 2015, letter to the editor of The Advocate, Dr. Lottie Beebe, a member of the BESE Board representing District 3 and Superintendent of Schools in St. Martin Parish, disputed the newspaper's editorial that praised the 2012 education reforms. The editorial reported that students' test scores were up and the dropout rate was down. Dr. Beebe wrote that the public could not trust the information from the LDOE, led by Superintendent of Education John White. According to Dr. Beebe, a large amount of money was spent four years ago to assure that Mr. White, Governor Jindal's candidate, was hired. She also wrote that,

Credible researchers found that the LDOE had changed the curve on its standardized tests to make it appear that students were doing better on the tests and the LDOE has changed its metrics for calculating graduation rates and the

numbers of students that go to college in order to improve these scores. (Beebe, 2015, para. 6)

In 2010 there was a public hearing to consider returning the schools in the RSD back to the control of the OPSB. The meeting was attended by hundreds of African-American citizens with signs that protested the RSD. Representatives from the African-American community voiced some of their concerns with the RSD. The concerns included: closing neighborhood schools, busing students across the city to attend the next available school, and not having an elected school board which denies citizens the means and right to participate in the educational process. Although, the citizens of New Orleans pay taxes on the school buildings, they do not have a voice in the operation and management of the schools or buildings because both are under the control of the state. This is basically taxation without representation. It was also noted that the six figure salaries that the charter school operators received was not interrupted even when the performance scores were poor (Buras, 2015; Karp & Sokolower, 2015).

During the meeting, a respected local activist was quoted as saying,

What we're talking about here tonight is a *simple question of democracy*. We want in Orleans Parish what every other parish has in this state and that's *the right to control our own schools*. High crimes and misdemeanors have been carried out by the RSD and the people who run these charter operations. We don't believe that these schools have served the best interest of African-American students.

(Buras, 2015, p. 25)

Even though spirits of discontent and disempowerment permeated the room, after the meeting, the unelected charter school board members were given the opportunity to

decide if they wanted to return the school to the local school district or remain under the authority of the Recovery School District. The majority of the unelected charter school board members agreed to remain under the auspices of the RSD (Buras, 2015).

As studies and publications have disclosed, the 2005 education reform and the development of charter schools in New Orleans, Louisiana since Hurricane Katrina was a calculated, deliberate, devious, shrewd undertaking executed by the state and education leaders. The objective was to establish the charter school movement in a city populated with an abundance of impoverished, marginalized people of color, crippled by the worst disaster in this country. The goal was to unjustly disenfranchise the African-American community and empower entrepreneurs to make more money at the expense of poor people (Buras, 2015; Casey, 2015; Dixson, 2015; Karp & Sokolower, 2014).

The same educational process which inspires and stimulates the oppressor with the thought that he is everything and has accomplished everything worthwhile, *sic* depresses and crushes at the same time the spark of genius in the Negro by making him feel that his race does not amount to much and never will measure up to the standard of other peoples. The Negro thus educated is a hopeless liability. (Woodson, 1933/2015, p. 5)

Theoretical Framework

Robert King Merton, the renowned sociologist, theorist, professor, Father of the Focus Group and recipient of the National Medal of Science (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2015a) once said, “theory and research should always go hand in hand, as theory without research is mere speculation, whilst research without theory is pure abstract empiricism”

(as cited in Nicolas, 2013, p. 8). With that in mind, this writer presents to the reader the following three theories that will be given consideration for this dissertation: Critical Race theory, Power and Politics Organizational theory and Social Conflict theory.

Despite federal and state laws prohibiting discrimination based on race, without a doubt, racism is alive and well in our nation today. The major difference between racism today and racism of the past is that contemporary racism is more astute, inconspicuous and subtle. Claims of equal opportunity and color blindness have driven racism underground, making it difficult for people of color to distinguish it as a reality. Currently, to prove the existence of racism requires concrete, obvious proof such as, hate crimes, antagonistic speech, or cross burnings (Lopez, 2003).

Unfortunately, racism is as prevalent and powerful today in our society as it was in the past. It is so ingrained in the social, cultural, and political structures of our modern society that it has taken on a position of normality and is concealed in our daily activities and lifestyle. Most times we are oblivious to racist tactics and policies, because we don't recognize it beyond its early manifestations. To address these concerns, legal scholars formulated Critical Race theory (CRT) as a framework to analyze the subtle, widespread racism in our society today (Lopez, 2003; Patton, McEwen, Rendon, & Hamilton, 2007).

CRT was first conceptualized by a group of African-American, Latino, and Asian legal intellectuals as they tried to understand civil issues, failed civil rights legislation, and the connection between race and the law (Patton et al., 2007). CRT is a movement of a collection of activists and scholars interested in studying and transforming the relationship among race, racism, and power. The movement incorporates many of the same arguments and concerns of the civil rights and ethical studies

movements; however it does not embrace the incremental progress of those studies. [Instead]... critical race theory questions the very foundations of the liberal order, including equality theory, legal reasoning, Enlightenment rationalism and neutral principles of constitutional law (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012, p. 1).

CRT originated in the mid-1970s as an important movement in the legal discipline (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Today, theorist and supporters of this movement are seen in the fields of political science, education, women's studies, public health, as well as in courses related to ethnical studies. The foundation and essence of the theory is social justice. CRT incorporates intellectual traditions that endorse racial justice which makes it interdisciplinary in its approach. As an interdisciplinary movement toward racial equality, CRT focuses on the production of knowledge, increases the vocabulary used for discussing racial issues, investigates the effects of racism and integrates valuable information from the marginalized community (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Ford & Airhihenbuwa, 2010; Patton et al., 2007).

CRT is not only an academic discipline, but it also comprises an activist dimension. The activist dimension of the theory reveals the manner in which society is formed around race to reconstruct systems that have kept in existence racial injustice (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Ford & Airhihenbuwa, 2010; Patton et al., 2007).

CRT is not only an academic discipline with an activist dimension, it is also an intellectual industry. Its intellectual strength is displayed in hundreds of papers and presentations at various educational conferences across the country, at the annual conference sponsored by the Critical Race Studies in Education Association and also in

its journal, *Race Ethnicity & Education*. In regards to education, however, CRT is mainly a critical theory that explains school phenomena as completely connected to race structures (Leonardo, 2013).

The basic principles of CRT follow: First, that racism is a common daily experience of most individuals of color in the United States. Second, it is difficult to address or cure racism. A third tenet of CRT is known as the social construction thesis. Social construction thesis means races are classifications of groups that society creates, maneuvers or retires when convenient. A fourth belief is identified as differential racialization. Differential racialization is characterized by the manner in which the dominant race shifts minority groups when they are not needed, such as in the labor market (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012).

A fifth dogma of CRT is that no individual has a simple, easily stated identity because each ethnic group has its own origin and evolving history. Members of all races have overlapping identities and allegiances that may possibly conflict with each other. The sixth principle of CRT is the idea of one singular voice of color. That is, because of the historically different, but similar oppressive conditions that people of color have had to experience, their leaders together may be able to have a meaningful dialog with members of the dominant race presenting issues that are unknown to them (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012).

Even though CRT originated in the movement that encompasses the critical legal studies, as previously stated, it is being used more and more in the educational arena. Since the 1990s, researchers have argued that CRT could be beneficial in uncovering and revealing various forms and levels of racism in education (Lopez, 2003; Patton et al.,

2007). The theory is being used by educational researchers who are seeking to critically analyze educational systems, school environments, teaching methods, and school representatives. It is being used to examine grades kindergarten through 12th, and also higher education, with the goal of providing a clearer understanding of the experiences encountered by students and educators (Ledesma & Calderon, 2015).

CRT was first used to study grades K-12 in 1995 by Ladson-Billings and Tate. It was introduced to study higher education by Solorzano in 1998 (Ledesma & Calderon, 2015). Researchers studying higher education use the theory to highlight racial injustices and hierarchies in student affairs, with the ultimate goal of transforming colleges and universities (Patton et al., 2007).

According to Ledesma and Calderon (2015), in kindergarten through 12th grades, CRT is used to identify how race and racism is manifested in these grades. It is also used to encourage a dialogue related to these issues in the classroom, in the community, and when attempting to appraise policy. It is used to critique the systemic problem of racial oppression and exploitation that saturate our nation's society and manifest itself in our schools. The theory formulates a powerful examination of racism as a civil, political, and economic system of empowering or disempowering groups of people based on their color and economic status. The authors assert that a true analysis of the education climate in grades K-12 cannot be conducted without including CRT in the research (Ledesma & Calderon, 2015).

Using CRT to assess educational programs gives us a means to view and understand the widespread nature of racism. It also challenges claims asserted by members of the dominate race of being objective, neutral, not seeing color, and integrity.

At the same time, CRT contests the historical interpretation of how the law operates in this country and gives credence to the experiences of African Americans in explaining law and society. The ultimate goal of CRT is to end all forms of racial oppression (Brown, 2013).

Ledesma and Calderon (2015) noted that using CRT as a theoretical framework to analyze educational scholarship can be an intricate and multifaceted task. The authors suggest that educational researchers and scholars be aware when using CRT that they acknowledge and connect their research to the legal roots of the theory.

As has been previously revealed in this theoretical framework, the primarily purpose for using CRT in the field of education is to uncover the manner in which race operates at the structural, regional and local levels in society and in educational programs. Researchers achieve this purpose with the following strategies: 1) counter-storytelling is an approach that gives voice to disempowered people of color by listening to their experiences about racism in schools and society; 2) recognition that being a member of the dominate race gives the white person numerous rights, entitlements and privileges, including the right to use, enjoy and exclude; 3) the essence and character of interest-convergence, that is, members of the dominate society addressing problems and racial inequalities with solutions that help, benefit and preserve the dominate white interests (Brown, 2013).

In examining educational policy, school structure, finances, and community involvement, CRT enlightens us that public policy is not always objective, but consists of inherent racism and supremacist ideologies of the dominant society (Ledesma & Calderon, 2015). As a theoretical framework, CRT can make a significant contribution to

this study by assisting the writer of this dissertation with an assessment of the presence of racism in the 2005 school reform policies and also of its manifestation in the charter schools in New Orleans.

In his publication, *The Story of Schooling: Critical Race Theory and the Educational Racial Contract*, Leonardo (2013) uses Charles Mills' racial contract as a way to explain the education system that exist in our society today. He defines it as "one standard for Whites, and another for students of color" (Leonardo, 2013, p. 599). The racial contract in our nation is not a theory or hypothesis, but a lived reality. He describes it as not just racism, but "white supremacy" (p. 606). According to the writer, racism is subjective and is predicated on one's beliefs and attitude, however, white supremacy is an "objective, historical system," (p. 606) which may persist until there's a material transformation.

The central principle of the racial contract is demoting people of color to non or sub-persons. An example of this mindset is reducing enslaved Africans to three-fifths of a white person. In educational programs, CRT researchers may use the racial contract methodology to analyze why members of the white race are elevated to the level of being knowers and people of color are considered sub-knowers (Leonardo, 2013).

This demotion of people of color was blatantly exposed when the state changed the definition of a failing school, seized the majority of public schools in New Orleans and authorized out of state business operators to reopen them as private charter schools. Further, it was displayed in the mass firing of thousands of seasoned, tenured educators and employing in their place mostly white, unseasoned recruits. These policies were

inconsistent with the standards used in other nearby school districts also affected by the storm (Leonardo, 2013).

In addition, this tenet can also be used to explain the ruling of the Louisiana Supreme Court against the fired educators, even though two lower courts and two members of the state's Supreme Court supported the educators. The standard is also exhibited when charter school operators demean and insult families that they pretend to care about, by assuming that they are better equipped to make decisions for other people's children (Carr, 2013).

Last, but not least, this principle is apparent in the fact that even though citizens in New Orleans pay taxes on school buildings, they are not provided the opportunity to voice an opinion in the operation and management of the schools (Carr, 2013). It appears to this writer that these practices are giving a powerful, unfavorable message to the students attending schools in New Orleans. That negative unspoken, yet powerful message is that educators who are members of the same ethnic group as a majority of the students are not qualified to teach or lead the school district, and tax paying citizens do not have the ability to elect and monitor the actions of a school board chosen by the people (Carr, 2013).

The racial contract dogma can also explain the extreme punitive discipline methods used in schools on African-American male students, in contrast to their white counterparts who commit the same or similar offenses (Leonardo, 2013). In the state-run RSD in New Orleans these pervasive, severe discipline methods were disclosed in the reports published by Southern Poverty Law Center (2010) and the litigations mentioned in the reports.

Leonardo (2013) writes if members of society propose to move pass the racial contract - that is the traditional behavior of demoting people of color to sub-humans - it must start with members of the majority population making a deliberate choice to disengage from the racial contract. Additionally, he advised in education that positive movement pass the racial contract begins with the assumption that all children can be taught.

As previously stated, since the creation of charter schools in this country, their expansion has more than doubled. Although there is not empirical evidence of their success and effectiveness, political and educational leaders, as well as business entrepreneurs exalt them as the way to improve failing schools and to close the achievement gap between African-American and white students. Proponents of charter schools also view them as the means to build a more productive workforce in the United States (Chapman & Donnor, 2015).

Research reveals that students being educated in charter schools do not substantially outperform students being taught in traditional public schools. Then, why are political, educational, and civic leaders advocating for more of them? In a publication entitled *Critical Race Theory and the Proliferation of U.S. Charter Schools*, the authors point out that CRT can provide a framework of understanding the rapid and excessive increase of charter schools in our country (Chapman & Donnor, 2015).

Chapman and Donnor (2015) use the analytic tools of racial realism, interest-convergence and intersectionality to investigate the rapid expansion and effectiveness of charter schools. The first tool, racial realism is used to determine how the issues of race conflicts with marketplace theory. Racial realism is the acceptance that both historically

and current ideas pertaining to race and racism inspires the policies and laws in this country. In their assessment of the racial demographics of charter schools, the authors point out that segregation in charter schools is troubling, because substantiated research reveals that children of color achieve more in integrated schools. The benefits of integrated schools are seen in lower truancy and drop-out rates, higher test scores, and elevated levels of achievement (Chapman & Donnor, 2015).

Additionally, students of color attending integrated schools have more exposure to academic and professional organizations that spark their interest in college and career choices. Research also proves that students of color earn higher professional degrees and make more money than students attending segregated schools (Chapman & Donnor, 2015). The negative impact of African-American students attending segregated schools in New Orleans was documented in the report published by the Institute on Race and Poverty which found that there were high racial and income segregation in the schools in New Orleans. The report's findings indicated that students of color were especially harmed by the racial and economic segregation, because many of them were enrolled in non-white schools with high levels of poverty, while the predominately white schools in the city had low levels of poverty (Institute on Race and Poverty, 2010).

As previously mentioned, but further delineated in this charter school study, interest-convergence is present when the benefits of the dominant population group, who are protected by societal privileges, as well as economic, social, and political power, exceed the marginalized population group, although the reforms are supposed to be benefitting the latter group. Researchers allege that national and state priorities and political pressures have forced educational leaders and policymakers to enact policies and

laws that only appear to profit the marginalized population. In reality, charter schools expansion and success profits the United States business communities more than students, families, and communities of color (Chapman & Donnor, 2015).

The third analytic tool, intersectionality is characterized as the conversion of two or more identity markers that can further disempower or empower persons or groups struggling to acquire equal treatment. Even though race and racism are the axiom of CRT, scholars recognize the importance of determining how racial matters converge with other social indicators to construct contrasting experiences for diverse groups. The advantage of using the tool of intersectionality is that it aids in the exploration of mesh systems to contribute a multi-dimensional examination of race and racism in public schools (Chapman & Donnor, 2015).

Intersectionality has been used by researchers to interpret the experiences of African-American female teachers in regards to race, gender, their professional posture and their role as student advocates. It has also been used to describe the perils of African-American male teachers in regards to tensions related to gender and race in academic settings. Additionally, using the CREDO's 2009 and 2013 studies, as it pertains to charter school students' academic performance, intersectionality indicates that students of color living and not living in poverty will not be able to close the achievement gap (Chapman & Donnor, 2015).

Proponents of charter schools contend that educating students in this type of school environment expose children of color living in urban neighborhoods to equal and purposeful learning environments (Staubert, 2014). Chapman and Donnor (2015) summarized their investigation of charter schools by questioning the creation and support

of these schools for children of color residing in urban communities, especially since there is only a slight improvement between them and traditional public schools. The authors summarized that money is the underlining reason behind the rapid proliferation of charter schools in this country. In the United States, public education at the primary and secondary levels is a \$500 billion industry. Currently, for charter school operators the public school industry is over \$5 million and steadily rising. The authors concluded the publication by disclosing that charter schools are a disguised attempt by politicians and business leaders to maintain the current situation and augment the income of elites in our society by limiting the education and opportunities of students of color (Chapman & Donnor, 2015).

A second theoretical framework for this study is based on Power and Politics Organizational theory. In the world today, racism is viewed as an individual flawed as opposed to a societal construct. In other words, racism has been diminished to an individual's deviant attitude or behavior in a civilization whose racial views are considered neutral. Racism is not viewed as a systemic issue that is connected to the allocation and dispersion of jobs, power, influence, and money in this world. As a society we should not ignore the sociological network of authority and power where racism functions and flourishes (Lopez, 2003).

In its simplest form, Power and Politics Organizational theory is defined as the ability to influence. Included in this definition is the ability to impact beliefs, emotions, individuals' behaviors, and outcomes. The understanding of this theory is key to comprehending how organizations work (Walumbwa, 1999).

Power is defined as the capacity that individual A has on the behavior and actions of individual B, so that individual B's actions are within the wishes of individual A. Power's most essential aspect is dependence. An individual can have power over another individual if he has control over something the person wants or desires (Robbins & Judge, 2014).

A further examination of power in an organization argues that its characteristics includes, control, decision making, authority, policy formulation, and policy consequences. Lopez (2003) notes that when using the idea of power as a theoretical concept, the scholar must advance the position from limiting power to just authority over and also consider the powerful influence of interest groups, political groups and others. Although in today's competitive world, the concept of power is known to have hidden agendas and manifestations, it is important to remember that power is the vehicle used in an organization to get things done and to accomplish the goals and objectives of the organization (Lopez, 2003).

In an organization, politics is defined as using power to alter or protect an organization's structure and resource distribution system (Walumbwa, 1999). Organizational politics were also defined as those in power using their authority to manipulate or affect decisions and outcomes in an organization, focusing on self-serving and unsanctioned behaviors. In other words, the political behavior or decision was not required and was not a part of the individual's professional role but it influenced an advantage outcome within the system (Robbins & Judge, 2014).

Additionally, organizational politics were defined as activities and behaviors within an organization used to acquire and obtain one's preferred result or outcome in a

situation that is questionable and uncertain (Walumbwa, 1999). The study of educational politics has focused on the manner in which individuals or groups have influence and leverage policy decisions and policy outcomes. These influences includes setting the agenda, making the decisions, resolving conflicts, exhibiting pressure tactics, controlling voting outcomes and what we know as unorthodox or dirty politics (Lopez, 2003).

Power and Politics Organizational theory is relevant as a theoretical framework in this study, because it encompasses the choices, decisions, and educational policies put in place immediately following Hurricane Katrina and continues to prevail in New Orleans today. Examples of Power and Politics Organization theory were the Orleans Parish School Board (2005) closing the schools and placing employees on disaster leave, a leave status that did not exist in the state. This decision by the Board immediately halted the salaries and benefits of the employees. These actions were outside the local and state policies and laws and were used to obtain a preferred outcome.

Mr. Picard (2005), the Louisiana State Superintendent of Education used his authority to impact the decision making when in his letter to the U.S. Secretary of Education he proposed that he would become the fiscal agent and administrator of any allocated appropriations that may be approved by the federal government. His requests were approved and funds were received under the *Hurricane Education Recovery Act*, however, they were not used to sustain employees of the Orleans Parish Public Schools. Instead, in March 2006 those employees were terminated without justification or due process, a legal mandate in the state of Louisiana. The funds were used to finance the 2005 school reform including the opening of charter schools in the city and the hiring of recruits from other parts of the country.

Power and Politics Organizational theory also manifested when Mr. Picard and other educators and policy makers influenced the governor and legislature to pass Louisiana Act 35. Through Act 35, the governor and state legislatures changed the definition of failing schools and gave the state control of most of the public schools in New Orleans. The schools were populated predominately by black students, teachers and staff. This opened the door for charter schools and the employing of young, white, inexperienced teachers hired from Teach for America, who worked the two required years to have their educational loans forgiven and then left the system and community (Buras, 2015; Dixson et al., 2015; Zubrzycki, 2013).

Another aspect of Power and Politics Organization theory is the fact that one or a few individuals have control over something that another individual wants or desire. In Louisiana, under the mandates of the *Louisiana State Compulsory School Law*, children are required to attend school and their parents are also legally required to send them to school. Most parents want their children to be educated and they also have a desire to follow the law. In a city where all the public schools are chartered poor, marginalized parents do not have a choice but to send their children to a chartered school (*Louisiana Laws Revised Statutes, Title 17 – Education 17:221 - School Attendance; Compulsory Ages; Duty of Parents; Excessive Absences; Condition for Driving Privileges*, 2011).

A third theory that is relevant to this writer's dissertation topic is Karl Marx's Social Conflict theory. The study of conflict has a central position in the educational field. An examination of conflict in the field is critical because it brings attention to various values, attitudes, mores, principles, and beliefs of different people when there's an unequal balance between the needs of people and policy decisions. It is also important

to study conflict when there is competition over the allocation of limited resources. In an organization, the conflict is usually resolved when one group exerts power or influence over the setting or a situation. The influence may occur in many different forms, but ultimately power is the primary means that conflict gets resolved (Lopez, 2003).

In his Social Conflict theory, Karl Marx identified two classes of people in a capitalist society: the capitalists and the workers (Clark, 2013). The capitalists are the people in power who control the property, production, profit, investments, and wealth in a society. They also control human capital and the training of the employees. The workers or employees are those individuals who work for the capitalists and, according to Marx, are owned by them (Clark, 2013).

In his theory, Marx argues that the executives, owners and those in power take advantage of the workers by maintaining control and keeping a large percentage of the profits and rewards for themselves. Another premise of the theory is the notion that the capitalist is able to retain his position of power because he has accumulated more financial wealth than the oppressed worker. The theory's name is derived from the conflict between the one who is promoting the exploitation and the one who is being exploited (Clark, 2013).

Conflict is usually perceived to be dysfunctional and uncomfortable. Conflict, however, can be a normal and legitimate means to regulate opposing forces within a group. Most social scientists agree that whether it is dysfunctional or not, social conflict is inherently present in all forms of social life. Many sociologists consider conflict a normal social relation and the evolving force of society. Conflict is also an essential feature of social regulations. As an element or aspect of regulations, conflict integrates

the family, church, industry, politics and various social fields in society. The confrontation that results from the conflict is able to promote unity, even if it does not always end in a harmonious outcome (Mihail, 2012). Karl Marx's Social Conflict theory is widely used by professionals to increase the understanding of individuals coping with oppression in a capitalist society (Clark, 2013).

Also, related to Karl Marx's Social Conflict theory is a body of work known as Black Marxism. Black Marxism criticizes what is known as western Marxism or feudal capitalism, which is what Marx experienced in England. Advocates of Black Marxism do not believe that followers of western Marxism understand or that they include the racial features of capitalism and the society in which it was born. Those who subscribe to the Black Marxism point of view believe that one cannot separate the rise of capitalism from "racism, slavery, colonialism, imperialism, and nationalism" (Stern & Hussain, 2014, p. 68).

Racial capitalism is defined as a global system dependent on "slavery, violence, imperialism, and genocide" (Stern & Hussain, 2014, p. 68). Black Marxism views the main component of capitalist as bigotry, as opposed to bigotry being used to legitimate markets with the goal of exploiting brown and black marginalized people. Followers of this mindset believe that colonialism and all its powers are alive and well in our nation (Stern & Hussain, 2014).

The Black Marxism perspective is used to critique institutions, such as slavery, religious institutions, the criminal justice system, and educational systems. This mindset advocates that these institutions were designed to promote racial genocide and capitalist accumulation of wealth. In regards to charter schools, Black Marxism connects charter

schools to what the authors call the post-colony. The post-colony is both a location and a shift from direct colonial rule and control to a position of “in-dependency” (Stern & Hussain, 2014, p. 69). Stern and Hussain (2014) defined in-dependence as ongoing control by economic and political action. They submit as an example the slaves who worked in the plantation, became dependent on their masters as they themselves transformed to their own middle-class. Secondly, in-dependency also suggests a psychological dependency on the beliefs and racial pathology of the capitalist views (Stern & Hussain, 2014).

Stern and Hussain (2014) framed the charter school movement in this context by asserting that state governments, which are largely responsible for education have moved into a managing role and have allocated there authority over the children attending charter schools without losing complete control of them. Although, charter boards and operators are legally given the authority to make administrative decisions for the students and schools, they are still accountable to the state because of the high stakes testing and the funds received from private donations. Additionally, Stern and Hussain reported that the accountability measures are authorized by centralized powers from a distance and are being subsidized by companies whose income are derived from the global exploitative market. This perspective argues that the success of charter schooling is defined as facilitating empire building by effectively generating human capital while preserving racial and class divisions. The state has contracted out its civic responsibilities and corporate capital has taken on the state’s responsibilities for profit-making and dominance over capital and minds (Stern & Hussain, 2014).

In this context, Karl Marx's Social Conflict theory and Black Marxism are both appropriate as theoretical frameworks for this dissertation. Both schools of thought are relevant, because of the continual conflict in New Orleans between the capitalist and the community resulting from the 2005 school reforms. There has been a large number of complaints and lawsuits filed because of the reform. One such lawsuit pertaining to the mass and unlawful termination of teachers and other school employees has already been discussed in this dissertation (New Orleans Public School Employees Justice, 2014).

Another lawsuit, filed by the Southern Poverty Law Center (2010; 2015) alleges violations pertaining to 4,500 disabled students. The lawsuit alleges infringement of the *Individuals with Disabilities Education Act* by the charter schools' operators. A third expression of discontent in the city is a civil rights complaint pertaining to "a harsh and punitive discipline culture" at Collegiate Academies, one of the private charter schools in New Orleans (Buras, 2015, p. 26).

There was another clash between Research on Reforms and the Louisiana Department of Education pertaining to the latter's refusal to release CREDO data to Research on Reforms. The data included decoded, raw student records which were public records. The Louisiana First Court of Appeals ruled that the LDOE had to release the public records to Research on Reforms (Ferguson, 2015a).

There have been battles between alumni who are upset about the renaming of the schools and the current staff at the charter schools not making an effort to learn and teach the history of the neighborhoods, schools, and accomplishments of graduates. There have also been formal protests and walkouts by students at several historic high schools.

The unrests were related to the poor conditions of the buildings, reinstatement of the staff, and other various demands (Buras, 2015; Dixon et al., 2015).

Another fire that is fueling the conflict in New Orleans is that the charter school executives are paid six-figure salaries that they retain even when the schools are failing. Community activists and concern citizens have also been verbal in their unhappiness with the current educational system. One such discontent can best be conceptualized in a declaration made by a community activist: “What we’re talking about here tonight is a simple question of democracy. We want in Orleans Parish what every other parish has in this state and that’s the right to control our own schools” (Buras, 2015, p. 26).

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Chapter III presents the methods and procedures that were used in conducting the study. The following are described in this chapter: research design, description of the site, sample and population, instrumentation, treatment of data, and limitations of the study.

Research Design

Survey research was selected for this study because it was presumably the best method available to the social researcher who was interested in collecting original data to describe a population too large to observe directly. In this quantitative study, survey research allowed for the researcher's use of a Likert scale which made provisions for unambiguous responses. With a Likert scale, careful probability sampling provided the researcher the ability to select a smaller group whose characteristics in all likelihood reflected those of the larger population (Babbie, 2007).

According to Earl Babbie (2010; 2007), survey research was also used by the social researcher for descriptive, explanatory, and exploratory purposes. Descriptive, exploratory, and explanatory research was employed in the study. Descriptive research was employed in the study to obtain additional understanding about the target population. Exploratory research was used to gather more information about the variables and

explanatory research was used to determine the relationship between the variables (Dudley, 2011). The study was designed to ascertain data in order to describe, explain, and analyze the relationship of previous and current residents of New Orleans, Louisiana with the 2005 education reform and the development of charter schools in the city since Hurricane Katrina. Hurricane Katrina and the 2005 education reform were the independent variables. The development of charter schools in New Orleans, Louisiana was the dependent variable.

The descriptive and explanatory research design allowed for the descriptive analysis of the demographic characteristics of the respondents. The research design further facilitated the explanation of the statistical relationship between those respondents who resided in New Orleans and those respondents who did not return to the city permanently following Hurricane Katrina.

Description of the Site

The research study was primarily concentrated in New Orleans, Louisiana, but was also conducted throughout the United States. New Orleans, the largest urban metropolitan city in Louisiana was selected as the primary site, because the 2005 education reform was instituted in that city. Questionnaires were distributed via mail to residents of the city. In addition to mail surveys, questionnaires were also distributed electronically, via email to previous residents of New Orleans, who resided in other parts of the country due to the devastation of Hurricane Katrina. Using the email method of distributing the surveys provided faster transmission and quicker response times from respondents, who were no longer permanent residents of the city, and lived as far away as

California. Even though the latter group of respondents no longer lived in New Orleans, they verbalized a genuine interest in the education reforms implemented in New Orleans and the purpose and outcome of the research study.

Sample and Population

The target population for the research study was composed of past and current residents of New Orleans, Louisiana. The population sample consisted of three hundred and twelve adult respondents, eighteen years old and over. These respondents were selected utilizing a nonprobability convenience sampling from among the target population.

Instrumentation

The research study employed a survey questionnaire entitled *Education Reform and the Development of Charter Schools in New Orleans*. The survey questionnaire consisted of two sections with a total of 17 questions. The questions in Section I solicited demographic information about the characteristics of the respondents. The questions in Section II employed a research design that was developed by the principal investigator in order to measure the relationship of previous and current residents of New Orleans with the 2005 education reform and the development of charter schools in the city since Hurricane Katrina.

Section I of the survey questionnaire consisted of eight questions. The questions in Section I were focused on the participants' gender, age group, marital status, ethnicity, education, income, and if the respondents currently lived in New Orleans or if they

moved out of New Orleans. These research questions provided the chief investigator with information for the presentation of a demographic profile of the respondents of the research study.

Section II of the survey questionnaire consisted of nine questions. These questions measured the respondents' opinions regarding the relationship of the 2005 education reform, Hurricane Katrina, and the development of charter schools in New Orleans. Section II utilized a survey instrument that was developed and designed by the principal investigator based on a review of literature. As well, the instrument designed was also built on the researcher's knowledge and experience received from living in New Orleans for over 30 years and working as a social worker in the public schools in New Orleans for over 26 years. For this study, the author also conducted personal communication with current and retired employees of the public school system. Section II of the survey instrument also measured to what extent the 2005 education reform impacted the respondents. Items on the survey instrument were responded to on a four point continuum Likert scale. The scale was as follows: 1= Strongly Disagree; 2= Disagree; 3= Agree; 4= Strongly Agree.

Treatment of Data

The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to analyze the data. The analyst used descriptive statistics, which included frequency distribution and cross tabulation. The test statistics for this study were phi and chi square.

Frequency distribution was used to analyze and summarize each of the variables in the study. A frequency distribution of variables was used to develop a demographic profile and to gain insight about the respondents of the study.

Cross tabulations were utilized to demonstrate the statistical relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variable. Cross tabulations were conducted between the 2005 education reform and Hurricane Katrina, the 2005 education reform and the development of charter schools, and the 2005 education reform and the development of charter schools in New Orleans, Louisiana.

Two test statistics were employed. The first test was Phi (ϕ) which is a symmetric measure of association that is used to demonstrate the strength of relationship between two or more variables. The following are the values associated with phi (ϕ):

.00 to .24	“no relationship”
.25 to .49	“weak relationship”
.50 to .74	“moderate relationship”
.75 to 1.00	“strong relationship”

The second test statistics employed in the research study was chi square. Chi square was used to test whether there was a significant statistical significance at the .05 level of probability among the variables in the study.

Limitations of the Study

There were three limitations of the study. The first limitation of the study was the school reform strategy and the development of charter schools was a new concept, therefore the research and data on the success or failure of this type of school system was

limited. The second limitation was that the effects this type of educational environment had on students matriculating in charter schools had not yet been thoroughly studied. The third limitation of the study was that the all charter school district only existed in New Orleans; therefore, there were no other school districts in Louisiana to compare.

CHAPTER IV

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

The purpose of this chapter is to present the findings of the study in order to describe and explain the relationship of previous and current residents of New Orleans, Louisiana with the 2005 education reform and the development of charter schools in the city since Hurricane Katrina. The chapter appraises the reader with the findings of the study. With the support of tables and interpretation format, the findings are organized and presented in the following sections: demographic data, research questions, and hypotheses.

Demographic Data

The demographic data section of the chapter provided a profile of the research participants who responded to the survey. Descriptive statistics were used to analyze and present data relative to the following variables: gender, age group, marital status, ethnicity education, income, lived in New Orleans, and moved out of New Orleans because of Hurricane Katrina.

The target population for this research was current and previous residents of New Orleans, Louisiana. Three hundred and twelve adults, 18 years old and older, responded to the 17 questions on the survey questionnaire. These respondents represented a diverse group within the target population. The following table is an illustration of the findings

that comprises the demographic data of the study. Table 1 is a frequency distribution of the demographic profile of the study's respondents.

Table 1

Demographic Profile of Study Respondents (N=312)

Variable	Frequency	Percent
Gender		
Male	88	28.3
Female	223	71.7
Age Group		
18-20	3	1.0
20-29	21	6.7
30-39	46	14.7
40-49	82	26.3
50 up	160	51.3
Marital Status		
Married	176	56.8
Never Married	68	21.9
Divorced	45	14.5
Widowed	21	6.8

Table 1 (continued)

Variable	Frequency	Percent
Ethnicity		
African American	229	73.6
White	69	22.2
Hispanic	3	1.0
Other	10	3.2
Education		
High School Grad	9	3.0
Some College	58	19.0
College Grad	179	58.7
Other	59	19.3
Household Income		
Under \$20,000	19	6.3
\$20,000 – 29,999	30	9.9
\$30,000 – 39,999	42	13.8
\$40,000 – 49,999	56	18.4
\$50,000 & up	157	51.6
I live in New Orleans		
Yes	231	75.2
No	76	24.8

Table 1 (continued)

Variable	Frequency	Percent
I moved out of New Orleans because of Hurricane Katrina		
Yes	101	35.7
No	182	64.3

Table 1 is representative of the research participants that responded to the questionnaire. As is indicated in the table, the typical respondent to the study was a married, African-American female, 50 years old or older, college graduate with a household income of \$50,000 and up. Table 1 also illustrated that a majority of the respondents lived in New Orleans and did not permanently move out of the city because of Hurricane Katrina.

Education Reform, Hurricane Katrina, and Charter Schools

This section of the findings provides specific measurements regarding the respondents' views pertaining to the relationship of the 2005 education reform, Hurricane Katrina and the development of charter schools in New Orleans, Louisiana. This section of the instrument consisted of nine questions, which are illustrated below.

Education Reform

Education reform in New Orleans was implemented following Hurricane Katrina on November 30 2005, with the enactment of the Louisiana *Recovery School District*

Law: Act No. 35, First Extraordinary Session, 2005 House Bill No. 121. The act gave the Louisiana Department of Education the authority to adopt a new definition of failing schools and to assert that most of the traditional public schools in New Orleans met that criterion. The education reforms established by Act 35 transferred a majority (102 of 126) of the traditional public schools in New Orleans to the Louisiana state-run RSD, and reopened the schools as privately operated charter schools.

Even though, the schools are primarily populated by low-income African-American students, they are managed and staffed mostly by white charter operators and teachers who are transports from out of state. Additionally, since the enactment of Act 35, the charter schools are funded by tax payers' monies on a per-pupil-basis, but the residents of New Orleans, who pay taxes on the buildings have no voice in the operation or management of the schools or buildings.

Education reform in New Orleans also included denial of salaries and benefits, the unlawful termination of over 7,500 tenured employees without justifiable cause or due process, and the dissolution of the teachers' union (Buras, 2015; Cowen, 2012; Dixon et al., 2015; New Orleans Public Schools Employees Justice, 2014; UTNO Update, 2005; Zanders, 2015; Zubrzycki, 2013).

The frequency tables representing education reform follow. Table 2 demonstrates the frequency distribution for the responses to the statement, "Louisiana Department of Education took over public schools in New Orleans."

Table 2

Louisiana Department of Education took over public schools in New Orleans

Attribute	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	65	22.5
Agree	224	77.5
Total	289	100.0
Mean 2.78	Std. Dev .418	

Table 2 indicated that 77.5% of the respondents agreed that the Louisiana Department of Education took over public schools in New Orleans.

Table 3 demonstrates the frequency distribution for the responses to the statement, “Education reform has improved the academic performance of students.”

Table 3

Education reform has improved the academic performance of students

Attribute	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	181	62.8
Agree	107	37.2
Total	288	100.0
Mean 2.37	Std. Dev .484	

Table 3 illustrated that 62.8% of the respondents disagreed with the statement that education reform improved the academic performance of students.

Table 4 demonstrates the frequency distribution for the responses to the statement, “Overall, education reform has improved New Orleans Public Schools.”

Table 4

Overall, education reform has improved New Orleans Public Schools

Attribute	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	62	21.4
Agree	228	78.6
Total	290	100.0
Mean 2.79	Std. Dev .411	

Table 4 illustrated that 78.6% of the respondents surveyed agreed that overall education reform improved New Orleans Public Schools.

Education Reform Computed Variables

In the study, education reform was defined by three computed variables. These variables were structured to reflect the take-over of the majority of traditional public schools in New Orleans following Hurricane Katrina as mandated by Act 35. Education reform was computed from the three variables as follows:

Department of Education Took Over Schools + Education Reform Improved Student's Academic Performance + Overall, Education Reform Improved the Schools.

In addition, the three computed variables were also used in the test statistics of the research questions and hypotheses. Table 5 depicts the education reform computed variables.

Table 5

REFORM Computed Variables: 2005 Education Reform in New Orleans

Attribute	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	202	71.4
Agree	81	28.6
Total	283	100.0
Mean 2.28	Std. Dev .452	

Table 5 indicated that 71.4% of the respondents disagreed with the three computed variables of reform related to the education reform in New Orleans.

In summary, a majority of the respondents had a favorable opinion about two of the three variables associated with reform. They overwhelmingly agreed that the Louisiana Department of Education took over the public schools in New Orleans. They also agreed that overall, education reform improved New Orleans public schools. However, the respondents disagreed with the statement that education reform improved the academic performance of students.

Hurricane Katrina

Hurricane Katrina was a category four, tropical cyclone with winds that exceeded 140 miles an hour. It arrived on the banks of New Orleans on August 29, 2005, two weeks after the opening of public schools in the city. The following day after the storm, the city's federally built levees collapsed and flooded 80% of the city with as much as 20 feet of water. The storm left an unprecedented number of destroyed homes and more than 400,000 displaced citizens. The storm was responsible for 986 deaths in Louisiana. The United States Coast Guard, who was credited for rescuing 33,500 people from rooftops and flooded homes, classified the storm as the worst natural disaster in the history of the United States (Data Center, 2014; Institute, 2012; Mish, 2007; National Center for Biotechnology Information, 2008; National Geographic, 2012; U.S. Census Bureau, 2011; U.S. Coast Guard, 2015).

Following are the frequency tables related to Hurricane Katrina. Table 6 demonstrates the frequency distribution for the responses to the statement, "Before Hurricane Katrina my primary residence was in New Orleans."

Table 6

Before Hurricane Katrina my primary residence was in New Orleans

Attribute	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	191	66.1
Agree	98	33.9
Total	289	100.0
Mean 2.34	Std. Dev .474	

Table 6 indicated that 66.1% of the respondents disagreed that before Hurricane Katrina their primary residence was in New Orleans

Table 7 demonstrates the frequency distribution for the responses to the statement, "I remained in New Orleans during Hurricane Katrina."

Table 7

I remained in New Orleans during Hurricane Katrina

Attribute	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	242	84.6
Agree	44	15.4
Total	286	100.0
Mean 2.15	Std. Dev .361	

Table 7 indicated that 84.6% of the respondents disagreed with the statement that they remained in New Orleans during Hurricane Katrina.

Table 8 demonstrates the frequency distribution for the responses to the statement, “I evacuated New Orleans before Hurricane Katrina came ashore.”

Table 8

I evacuated New Orleans before Hurricane Katrina came ashore

Attribute	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	76	27.0
Agree	205	73.0
Total	281	100.0
Mean 2.73	Std. Dev .445	

Table 8 illustrated that 73.0% of the respondents agreed with the statement that they evacuated New Orleans before Hurricane Katrina came ashore.

Hurricane Katrina Computed Variables

In the dissertation, Hurricane Katrina was analyzed by three computed variables. These variables were structured to solicit responses about the residence of the respondents prior to the storm and the whereabouts of the respondents during the storm. Hurricane Katrina was computed from the three variables as follows:

Primary Residence before Hurricane Katrina + Remained in New Orleans during Hurricane Katrina + Evacuated New Orleans before Hurricane Katrina.

The three computed variables were also used in the test statistics of the research questions and hypotheses. Table 9 depicts the Hurricane Katrina computed variables.

Table 9

KATRINA Computed Variables: Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans

Attribute	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	102	36.6
Agree	177	63.4
Total	279	100.0
Mean 2.63	Std. Dev .482	

Table 9 illustrated that, in the study, 63.4% of the respondents agreed with the three computed variables related to Hurricane Katrina.

In summary, as it related to Hurricane Katrina, a majority of the respondents had a less than favorable opinion about two of the three variables. The respondents had a less than favorable opinion about their primary residence being in New Orleans before Hurricane Katrina. An overwhelming number also had a less than favorable response related to them remaining in New Orleans during the storm. However, a majority of the respondents agreed that they evacuated New Orleans before Hurricane Katrina came ashore.

Charter Schools

A public charter school was defined as a school financed by public funds and usually governed by a group or organization under a state or district authorized legislative contract or charter. The contract or charter exempted the school from some of the local or state laws, regulations, and rules. To receive public funding, the school must have met the standards outlined in the charter. Louisiana's Charter School Law was a composite of conventional charter procedures and other unique policies and regulations. Type 5 charter schools were those established in New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina, and operated under the state-run RSD on behalf of BESE, in accordance to the mandates of Act 35. Type 5 charter schools were traditional schools before the storm and were determined to be underperforming and in need of transformation (O'Neill & Thukral, 2010; Reckhow et al., 2015; U.S. Department of Education, 2013).

Table 10 demonstrates the frequency distribution for the responses to the statement, "Charter schools are better than the traditional public schools."

Table 10

Charter schools are better than the traditional public schools

Attribute	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	171	59.2
Agree	118	40.8
Total	289	100.0
Mean 2.41	Std. Dev .492	

Table 10 demonstrated that 59.2% of the respondents disagreed that the charter schools were better than the traditional public schools.

Table 11 demonstrates the frequency distribution for the responses to the statement, “Teach for America educators are better teachers than public school teachers.”

Table 11

Teach for America educators are better teachers than public school teachers

Attribute	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	222	77.4
Agree	65	22.6
Total	287	100.0
Mean 2.23 Std. Dev .419		

Table 11 indicated that 77.4% of respondents disagreed with the statement that Teach for America educators are better teachers than public school teachers.

Table 12 demonstrates the frequency distribution for the responses to the statement, “I was one of the New Orleans public school employees fired.”

Table 12

I was one of the New Orleans public school employees fired

Attribute	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	192	67.4
Agree	93	32.6
Total	285	100.0
Mean 2.33	Std. Dev .470	

As illustrated in Table 12, 67.4% of the respondents disagreed with being one of the New Orleans public school employees fired.

Development of Charter Schools in New Orleans Computed Variables

In the study, the development of charter schools in New Orleans was defined by three computed variables. These variables were constructed to solicit responses from the respondents relative to the development of charter schools in New Orleans and the respondents' possible association with the education reform process. Charter schools were computed from the three variables as follows:

Better than the Traditional Public Schools + Teach for America Educators better

Teachers than Public School Teachers + New Orleans Public School Employee Fired.

The three computed variables were also used in the test statistics of the research questions and hypotheses. Table 13 depicts development of charter schools in New Orleans computed variables.

Table 13

CHARTER Computed Variable: Developing Charter Schools in New Orleans

Attribute	Frequency	Percent
Disagree	247	88.2
Agree	33	11.8
Total	280	100.0
Mean 2.11 Std. Dev .323		

Table 13 indicated that 88.2% of the respondents disagreed with the three computed variables related to the development of charter schools in New Orleans.

In summary, with respect to the development of charter schools, a majority of the respondents had an unfavorable opinion about the variables in this category. The respondents disagreed that charter schools were better than the traditional public schools. They also overwhelmingly disagreed that Teach for America educators were better teachers than the public school teachers. Additionally, they disagreed with being one of the New Orleans public school employees fired. Table 13, which illustrated the charter computer variables, reflected these findings.

In sum, the frequency tables illustrated that the majority of respondents resided in New Orleans and did not permanently move out of the city after Hurricane Katrina. The surveys also indicated that a majority of respondents were African-American females, with household incomes over \$50,000, who were not a member of the New Orleans public school employees fired due to the 2005 education reform policies. The

findings also indicated that a majority of the population group disagreed that education reform improved the academic performance of the students that matriculated in the schools. In contrast, a majority of the respondents had a favorable opinion about education reform overall improvement of New Orleans public schools. A majority of the sample population indicated unfavorable opinions with respect to Teach for America teachers being better teachers than the traditional public school teachers, and charter schools being better than traditional public schools. In conclusion, the results of the frequency tables indicated that the majority of the research respondents had an unfavorable opinion related to the education reforms instituted by the Louisiana Department of Education.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

This section of the chapter provides the reader with a comparison of each research question and its accompanying hypothesis. Cross-tabulations were used to demonstrate the relationship between the independent and dependent variable in each research question. The results will be illustrated in a table format with an interpretation of findings for each table.

Research Question 1: Is there a statistically significant relationship between the 2005 Education Reform and Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans, Louisiana?

Hypothesis 1: There is no statistically significant relationship between the 2005 Education Reform and Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans, Louisiana.

Table 14 is a cross-tabulation of the 2005 education reform and Hurricane Katrina. It shows the association between the 2005 education reform in New Orleans and Hurricane Katrina. It indicates whether or not there is a statistically significant relationship between the two variables.

Table 14

Cross-tabulation of 2005 Education Reform and Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans

	<u>2005 Education Reform</u>					
	Disagree		Agree		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
<u>Hurricane Katrina</u>						
Disagree	65	23.7	34	12.4	99	36.1
Agree	129	47.1	46	16.8	175	63.9
Total	194	70.8	80	29.2	274	100.0
Phi = .085 df =1 p = .159						

As Table 14 indicated, of the 274 participants who responded, 99 or 36.1% of them disagreed that there was a relationship between the 2005 education reform and Hurricane Katrina. The table also illustrated that out of the 274 respondents, 175 or 63.9% agreed that there was a relationship between the 2005 education reform and Hurricane Katrina.

As reflected in Table 14, the statistical test phi (ϕ) was used to demonstrate the strength between the 2005 education reform and Hurricane Katrina, the two variables in the research question. As illustrated, there was no association between the two variables. When chi-square statistical test for significance was employed, the principal investigator failed to reject the null hypothesis ($p = .159$) which indicated that there was no statistically significant relationship between the two variables at the .05 level of probability.

Research Question 2: Is there a statistically significant relationship between the 2005 Education Reform and the development of Charter Schools in New Orleans, Louisiana?

Hypothesis 2: There is no statistically significant relationship between the 2005 Education Reform and the development of Charter Schools in New Orleans, Louisiana.

Table 15 is a cross-tabulation of the 2005 education reform and charter schools. It shows the association between the 2005 education reform in New Orleans and the development of charter schools. It illustrates whether or not there is a statistically significant relationship between the two variables.

Table 15

Cross-tabulation of 2005 Education Reform and Charter Schools in New Orleans

	<u>2005 Education Reform</u>					
	Disagree		Agree		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
<u>Charter Schools</u>						
Disagree	180	65.2	63	22.8	243	88.0
Agree	16	5.8	17	6.2	33	12.0
Total	196	71.0	80	29.0	276	100.0
Phi = .183 df =1 p = .002						

As Table 15 indicated, of the 276 respondents, 33 or 12.0% of them agreed that there was a relationship between the 2005 education reform and the development of charter schools in New Orleans. The table also illustrated that out of the 274 respondents, 243 or 88.0% disagreed that there was a relationship between the 2005 education reform and the development of charter schools in New Orleans.

Additionally, illustrated in Table 15 was the statistical test phi (ϕ) which was used to demonstrate the strength between the 2005 education reform and the development of charter schools in New Orleans. As indicated, there was no association ($\phi = .183$) between the two variables. When chi-square statistical test for significance was applied, the null hypothesis was rejected ($p = .002$) which indicated that there was a statistically significant relationship between the two variables at the .05 level of probability.

Research Question 3: Is there a statistically significant relationship between Hurricane Katrina and the development of Charter Schools in New Orleans, Louisiana?

Hypothesis 3: There is no statistically significant relationship between Hurricane Katrina and the development of Charter Schools in New Orleans, Louisiana.

Table 16 is a cross-tabulation of Hurricane Katrina and the development of charter schools in New Orleans. It shows the relationship between Hurricane Katrina and the development of charter schools. It illustrates whether or not there is a statistically significant relationship between the two variables.

Table 16

Cross-tabulation of Hurricane Katrina and Charter Schools in New Orleans

	<u>Hurricane Katrina</u>					
	Disagree		Agree		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
<u>Charter Schools</u>						
Disagree	85	31.4	153	56.5	238	87.8
Agree	15	5.5	18	6.6	33	12.2
Total	100	36.9	171	63.1	271	100.0
Phi = .066	df =1	p = .277				

As Table 16 indicated, of the 271 participants who responded, 33 or 12.2% of them agreed that there was a relationship between Hurricane Katrina and the development of charter schools in New Orleans. The table also illustrated that out of the 271 respondents, 238 or 87.8% disagreed that there was a relationship between Hurricane Katrina and the development of charter schools.

As well, illustrated in Table 16 was the statistical test phi (ϕ) which was used to show the strength between Hurricane Katrina and the development of charter schools in New Orleans. As illustrated, there was no relationship ($\phi = .006$) between the two variables. When chi-square statistical test for significance was employed, the principal investigator failed to reject the null hypothesis ($p = .277$) which indicated that there was no statistically significant relationship between the two variables at the .05 level of probability.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The research study was designed to examine the relationship between the 2005 education reform, Hurricane Katrina, and the development of charter schools in New Orleans, Louisiana. The education reforms were established in November 2005 with the enactment of the *Louisiana Recovery School District Law, Act No. 35, First Extraordinary Session, 2005 House Bill No. 121*. The study answered three questions related to the 2005 education reform, Hurricane Katrina, and the development of charter schools in New Orleans, Louisiana.

The conclusions and recommendations of the research findings are presented in this chapter. The recommendations are presented for future consideration and discussions by policy makers, social workers, educators, administrators, community leaders, parents, and concerned citizens. Each research question in the study is presented in order to summarize the significant findings of interest.

Summation and Interpretations of Findings

The target population for this research study was adults, 18 years old and older, who were previous residents or current residents of New Orleans, Louisiana. The principal investigator collected and analyzed 312 surveys, which produced the following results.

In summation, the findings of the research study indicated that the gender make-up of the respondents were 71.7% female and 28.3% males. At 51.3%, the majority of the sample population was 50 years old or older. At 56.8%, more than half of the respondents were married. The racial make-up of the respondents who participated in the survey was 73.6% African American, 22.2% white, 1.0% Hispanic, and 3.2% other. This racial breakdown was closely aligned with national statistics, which reported that African Americans made up 60.2% of the population in New Orleans and that whites made up 33.0% of the population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Over half of the respondents surveyed were college graduates, at 58.7%. And similarly, 51.6% of the sample populations had household incomes of \$50,000 or greater.

Even though this study surveyed both previous and current residence of the city, the vast majority of the respondents, totaling 75.2% answered that they were current residents of New Orleans. Relative to those respondents who evacuated prior to the storm, 73.0% of the respondents evacuated and 15.4% remained in New Orleans during the storm. Additionally, 64.3% of the population group responded that they did not move out of New Orleans due to Hurricane Katrina and 35.7% responded that they did move out of the city because of the storm.

In regards to the variables related to the 2005 education reform, Hurricane Katrina and the development of charter schools in New Orleans, the findings were mixed. The results indicated that a majority of the population group, 77.5% agreed that the Louisiana Department of Education took over the public schools in New Orleans. A majority of the respondents at 78.6% also had a favorable opinion in regards to education reform improving New Orleans Public Schools. However, when the variables were analyzed,

71.4% of the respondents disagreed with the computed variables *Department of Education Took Over Schools + Education Reform Improved Student's Academic Performance + Overall, Education Reform Improved the Schools.*

Variables pertaining to the development of charter schools were more consistent and aligned with the literature. In regards to charter schools being better schools than the traditional public schools, 59.2% provided an unfavorable response to the statement and 40.8% provided a favorable response to the statement. At 77.4% an overwhelming majority of the respondents disagreed with the statement that teachers hired from Teach for America were better teachers than the traditional public school teachers. The findings also concluded that most of the respondents, 67.4% were not among the New Orleans public school employees fired as a result of the education reform. A review of the computed charter variables revealed that 88.2% disagreed with the following computed variables: *Better than the Traditional Public Schools + Teach for America Educators better Teachers than Public School Teachers + New Orleans Public School Employee Fired.*

The cross-tabulations indicated that a majority of the respondents (63.9%) agreed that there was a relationship between the 2005 education reform and Hurricane Katrina. The cross-tabulations also illustrated that a higher proportion of respondents (88.0%) disagreed that there was a relationship between the 2005 education reforms and charter schools. Contingency table 16 indicated that a majority of the respondents (87.8%) disagreed that a relationship existed between Hurricane Katrina and the development of charter schools in New Orleans. The results of the statistical test phi (ϕ), which showed the strength between the two variables, revealed that in each of the three tabulations there

was no relationship between the two variables. However, in contingency table 15, when chi square statistical test for significance was employed, the null hypothesis was rejected ($p = .002$) indicating that there was a statistically significant relationship between the two variables at the .05 level of probability. This result verified from the research that the 2005 education reform did influence the development of charter schools in New Orleans.

The findings of the study coincided with the literature. In Table 10, the findings concluded that 59.2% of the respondents disagreed with the statement that charter schools were better than traditional public schools and 40.8% agreed with the statement. The research suggests that the charter school controversy is polarized along ideological views among respondents with an adequate amount of information. Conservatives were more supportive of the charter school movement than liberals (Reckhow et al., 2015).

In the spring of 2015 the Tulane University Cowen Institute for Public Education Initiatives, in partnership with the New Orleans Advocate, conducted a random telephonic poll. The findings of the poll indicated that the majority of respondents believed that the charter schools improved public school education in New Orleans; however they also felt that the public schools still needed improvement (Rossmeier & Sims, 2015). These results were somewhat reflected in this study because a majority of the respondents had a favorable opinion regarding the education reform improving New Orleans public schools, but they also believed that the charter schools were not better than the traditional public schools and nor were the teachers hired by Teach for America better than the traditional public school teachers.

The literature suggests that many people have concerns about charter schools meeting the needs of students of color. Included in these concerns is the fact that many

charter schools are segregated schools, in contrast to their traditional counterpart (Stulberg, 2014). A report published by the Institute on Race and Poverty, at the University of Minnesota Law School (2010) concluded that the 2005 education reforms have created not only charter schools, but also unequal schools. According to the report, the reorganization has steered most of the white students to selective, high-performing schools and most of the black students to low-performing schools, which are considered schools of the last resort.

A review of the literature also suggests that charter schools that serve low-income communities populated by families of color represent an attempt at privatizing the public school system and undermining traditional public education and teachers unions (Casey, 2015; Staulberg, 2014). The findings in the study indicated that a majority of the respondents disagreed that charter schools were better than traditional public schools and also a majority of the respondents had an unfavorable opinion about education reform improving the academic performance of students.

Further, critics of the charter school movement charged that this type of public education promotes values of the white middle-class which is harmful to students and families of color (Staulberg, 2014). The findings in the study reflected that a majority of the respondents disagreed that teachers hired through Teach for America, who were primarily members of the majority race, were better teachers than the traditional public school teachers.

In a 2009 study conducted by the Stanford University CREDO Center, the academic performance on a mathematics test of students enrolled in charter schools was evaluated. In the country's 5,000 charter schools the research revealed that 17% of the

students scored superior to an equal traditional public school, 37% of the students scored worse than the traditional public school, and 46% of the math scores were no different than that of a similar traditional public school. Dr. Ravitch (2010a) concluded that opening a charter school in a tough community was not assurance that the students served would automatically produce educational success. In his study, Casey (2015) reported that research verified that most students in traditional public schools outscored students attending charter schools. He also wrote that studies indicated that only a small number of students enrolled in charter schools outperformed their counterparts in traditional public schools. Both of these findings were supported by local statistics.

In 2011 the charter schools governed by the state-run RSD received a D or F rating by the state and 79% of the other charter schools in the city received the same low performance score. In 2014 the RSD performance score continued to be lower than the majority of other schools districts in state on the fourth and eighth grades tested by the Louisiana Educational Assessment Program (LEAP) (Buras, 2015). The Tulane University Cowen Institute for Public Education Initiatives (2014) reported that, although in 2014, 91% of the students in New Orleans attended charter schools, student achievement were below the state average, ranking the charter schools in New Orleans the 44th best schools out of the 64 parishes. The findings in the research study revealed that a majority of the respondents had an unfavorable opinion about the education reforms improving the academic performance of students.

In conclusion, the findings in the research study revealed that a majority of the respondents had an unfavorable opinion about the education reforms improving the academic performance of students, which was supported by the above documentation. In

addition, the results of the study indicated that a majority of the respondents, 71.4% disagreed with the 2005 education reform instituted in New Orleans, and 88.2% gave an unfavorable response to the development of charter schools in New Orleans. The latter finding was also supported by local literature.

In 2010 during a public hearing to consider returning the schools in the RSD back to the control of the OPSB, hundreds of African-American citizens attended with signs protesting the RSD. The concerns verbalized at that hearing included closing neighborhood schools, busing students across the city to attend the next available school, and charter school operators continuing to collect their six figure salaries, even when the charter schools performance scores were failing. An additional concern verbalized at the hearing was regarding not having an elected school board which denied the citizens the means and right to participate in the educational process. The attendees also protested that the citizens of New Orleans paid taxes on the school buildings, but they had no voice in the operation and management of the schools or buildings, because both were under the control of the state (Buras, 2015; Karp & Sokolower, 2015). This form of governing was representative of taxation without representation. Even though spirits of discontent and disempowerment permeated the room, the unelected charter school board members agreed to remain under the auspices of the state-run RSD (Buras, 2015).

These findings highlighted the importance of using Critical Race Theory to examine educational programs. Critical Race Theory could be used to encourage a dialogue related to issues in the classroom, in the community, and also with the policies set forth by Act 35 and the charter schools' operators. The theory provides a powerful examination of racism as a civil, political, and economic system of empowering or

disempowering groups of people based on their color and economic status (Ledesma & Calderon, 2015). It also confronts claims by members of the dominate race of being objective, neutral, and not seeing color. The use of Critical Race Theory could be a means of empowering the New Orleans community to challenge the reforms and to confront policy makers and supporters of Act 35. Critical Race Theory could also be used to validate the experiences of the local community, mostly populated by African Americans, and provide credence in explaining the impact of the 2005 education reform on the students, families, and community (Brown, 2013).

Additionally, the study answered the following three research questions, which was related to the 2005 Education Reform, Hurricane Katrina, and the development of Charter Schools in New Orleans, Louisiana.

Research Question 1: Is there a statistically significant relationship between the 2005 Education Reform and Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans, Louisiana?

Two hundred and seventy-four surveyed participants, out a total of 312 surveyed participants, responded to the first research question. Of the 274 respondents, a minority (36.1%) disagreed that there was a relationship between the 2005 education reform and Hurricane Katrina, Louisiana. However, a majority of the respondents (63.9%) agreed that there was a relationship between the 2005 education reform and Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans, Louisiana.

The statistical measurement phi (ϕ) was employed to test for the strength of the association between the 2005 education reform and Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans,

Louisiana. As indicated, there was no association ($\phi = .085$) between the two variables. When chi square statistical test for significance was applied, the principal investigator failed to reject the null hypothesis ($p = .159$) indicating that there was no statistically significant relationship between the two variables at the .05 level of probability (See Table 14).

The findings of the cross tabulation between the 2005 education reform and Hurricane Katrina indicated that a majority of the respondents (63.9%) agreed that there was a relationship between the 2005 education reform and Hurricane Katrina. The high percentage of respondents who agreed that a relationship existed between the two variables suggests that the 2005 education reform were instituted as a direct result of Hurricane Katrina.

The results of the chi square statistical test for significance indicated that there was no statistically significant relationship between the 2005 education reform and Hurricane Katrina at the .05 level of probability. This finding suggested that any relationship that existed between the two variables occurred due to chance and that there would be no statistically significant relationship between the two variables in a larger sample population with the same characteristics.

Research Question 2: Is there a statistically significant relationship between the 2005 Education Reform and the development of Charter Schools in New Orleans, Louisiana?

Two hundred and seventy-six surveyed participants, out a total of 312 surveyed participants, responded to the second research question. Of the 276 respondents, a

minority (12.0%) agreed that there was a relationship between the 2005 education reform and the development of charter schools in New Orleans, Louisiana. In contrast, a majority of the respondents (88.0%) disagreed with there being a relationship between the 2005 education reform and the development of charter schools in New Orleans, Louisiana.

The statistical measurement phi (ϕ) was employed to test for the strength of the association between the 2005 education reform and the development of charter schools in New Orleans, Louisiana. As indicated, there was no association ($\phi = .183$) between the two variables. When chi square statistical test for significance was applied, the null hypothesis was rejected ($p = .002$) indicating that there was a statistically significant relationship between the two variables at the .05 level of probability (See Table 15).

The findings of the cross tabulation between the 2005 education reform and the development of charter schools indicated that a very high percentage of the respondents (88.0%) disagreed that there was a relationship between the two variables. The high percentage of respondents who disagreed that a relationship existed between the two variables might suggest that a majority of the respondents were unaware of the relationship between the two variables because their primary residence before Hurricane Katrina was not in New Orleans (See Table 6).

The results of the chi square statistical test for significance revealed that there was a statistically significant relationship between the two variables, the 2005 education reform and the development of charter schools in New Orleans, Louisiana at the .05 level of probability. This finding suggests that there is a probability that the relationship between the two variables did not occur by chance and that there would also be a

statistically significant relationship between the two variables in a larger sample population with the same characteristics.

Research Question 3: Is there a statistically significant relationship between Hurricane Katrina and the development of Charter Schools in New Orleans, Louisiana?

Two hundred and seventy-one surveyed participants, out a total of 312 surveyed participants, responded to the third research question. Of the 271 respondents, a minority (12.2%) agreed that there was a relationship between Hurricane Katrina and the development of charter schools in New Orleans, Louisiana. In contrast, a high percentage of respondents (87.8%) disagreed that there was a relationship between Hurricane Katrina and the development of charter schools in New Orleans, Louisiana.

The statistical measurement phi (ϕ) was employed to test for the strength of the association between Hurricane Katrina and the development of charter schools in New Orleans, Louisiana. As indicated, there was no association ($\phi = .006$) between the two variables. When chi square statistical test for significance was applied, the principal investigator failed to reject the null hypothesis ($p = .277$) indicating that there was no statistically significant relationship between the two variables at the .05 level of probability (See Table 16).

The findings of the cross tabulation between Hurricane Katrina and the development of charter schools indicated that a majority of the respondents (87.8%) disagreed with there being a relationship between Hurricane Katrina and the development of charter schools. The high percentage of respondents who disagreed that a relationship

existed between the two variables might suggest that a majority of the respondents were unaware of the relationship between the two variables because their primary residence before Hurricane Katrina was not in New Orleans (See Table 6).

The results of the chi square statistical test for significance indicated that there was no statistically significant relationship between the two variables, Hurricane Katrina and the development of charter schools at the .05 level of probability. This finding suggests that any relationship that exists between the two variables occurred due to chance and that there would be no statistically significant relationship between the two variables in a larger sample population with the same characteristics.

In summary, one out of three hypotheses in the research study was rejected. There was a statistically significant relationship between the two variables in one out of the three research questions. There was a statistically significant relationship between the 2005 education reform and the development of charter schools. This was verified from the research that the 2005 education reform did influence the development of charter schools in New Orleans, Louisiana. There was no statistically significant relationship between the 2005 education reform and Hurricane Katrina and the principal investigator failed to reject the null hypothesis. Likewise, there was no statistically significant relationship between Hurricane Katrina and the development of charter schools and the principal investigator failed to reject the null hypothesis.

Recommendations

In the scholarly journal article, *Charter Schools as Black Boxes*, Pedro Noguera (2014) argued that supporters of the charter school movement frequently promoted

choice in public education as a way to improve the accountability of both traditional public schools as well as charter schools. According to the author, and supported by the overall research in the study, was that the systemic problem was that charter schools were usually not accountable. Student achievement was not better than students attending traditional public schools, even though the school day and year were longer than their counterparts. Additionally, charter schools are funded with tax payers' monies; however they are not transparent with their financial records. Further, the salaries of charter school operators and staffs are higher than their traditional public school. Throughout the country, hundreds of traditional public schools have been closed, but the for-profit privately operated charter schools have been opened in their place with public funds. As the study revealed, with 91% of the students in New Orleans attending charter schools (Cowen, 2014) this trend is more apparent in New Orleans than in any other city in the country.

As a result of the findings in this study, the principal investigator is recommending the following:

1. More research should be conducted concerning barriers to educating children of color.
2. The Louisiana Department of Education should provide accurate data to the public about student achievement and outcomes.
3. The charter schools should be more transparent and accountable to the parents of the students they serve, as well as to the public whose tax dollars are sustaining them.

4. Since the majority of students attending the RSD charter schools are African American, the charter schools should increase the racial diversity of the staff.
5. The charter schools in New Orleans are primarily segregated schools. The Louisiana Department of Education and the charter school operators, along with concerned citizens should develop a plan focusing on creating racially balance schools.
6. On January 11, 2016, the newly elected democratic governor of Louisiana, John Bel Edwards was sworn into office. During his inauguration address he said, “We should...enhance and protect local control of public education so that tax payers, voters, and local boards are empowered to oversee the financial and educational decisions that impact the success of our children.” With the support of Gov. Edwards and using Critical Race Theory or another effective negotiating style of communication, the New Orleans community should confront policy makers, charter school operators, and supporters of Act 35 to validate the dissatisfaction and the undesirable impact the 2005 education reforms has had on African American students, families, and the community. During this dialogue, recommendations should be presented to return the schools to local control.
7. In regards to the unlawful termination of 7,500 employees of Orleans Parish School Board, everyone should sign the petition asking that Loretta Lynch, the United States Attorney General investigate the manner in which the Louisiana Department of Education spent billions of federal dollars allocated under the *2005 Hurricane Recovery Act* to reopen schools and support employees of Orleans Parish School Board.

APPENDIX A

IRB APPROVAL LETTER



CLARK ATLANTA UNIVERSITY Institutional Review Board Office of Sponsored Programs

April 11, 2015

Ms. Janice C. Moore <Janice.moore@students.cau.edu>
School of Social Work
Clark Atlanta University
Atlanta, GA 30314

RE: A Study of the 2005 Education Reform and the Development of Charter
Schools in New Orleans, Louisiana since Hurricane Katrina.

Principal Investigator(s): Janice C. Moore

Human Subjects Code Number: HR2015-4-578-1

Dear Ms. Moore:

The Human Subjects Committee of the Institutional Review Board (IRB) has
reviewed your protocol and approved of it as exempt in accordance with 45 CFR
46.101(b)(2).

Your Protocol Extended Approval Code is HR2015-4-578-1/A

Type of Review: Expedited.

This permit will expire on April 10, 2016. Thereafter, continued approval is
contingent upon the annual submission of a renewal form to this office.
The CAU IRB acknowledges your timely completion of the CITI IRB Training in
Protection of Human Subjects – "Social and Behavioral Sciences Track". Your CITI
Certification is valid for two years.

If you have any questions, please contact Dr. Georgianna Bolden at the Office of
Sponsored Programs (404) 880-6979 or Dr. Paul I. Musey, (404) 880-6829.

Sincerely:

Paul I. Musey, Ph.D.
Chair
IRB: Human Subjects Committee

cc. Office of Sponsored Programs, "Dr. Georgianna Bolden" <gbolden@cau.edu>

223 James P. Brawley Drive, S.W. * ATLANTA, GA 30314-4391 * (404) 880-8000

Formed in 1988 by consolidation of Atlanta University, 1865 and Clark College, 1869

APPENDIX B

LETTER TO PARTICIPANTS



Whitney M. Young, Jr.
School of Social Work

CLARK ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

December 3, 2015

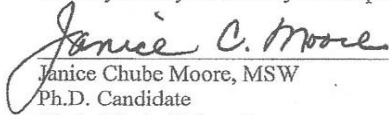
Dear Research Participant:

My name is Janice Chube Moore, a former resident of New Orleans. Presently I am a Ph.D. candidate at the Whitney M. Young, Jr., School of Social Work at Clark Atlanta University. You are invited to participate in a study about New Orleans, Louisiana. The title of my dissertation is **"A Study of the Relationship between the 2005 Education Reform, Hurricane Katrina and the Development of Charter Schools in New Orleans, Louisiana."** This research is being conducted to meet a partial fulfillment of the requirements for graduation.

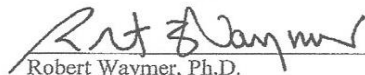
There are no known risks to participants who agree to take part in this research. All responses are confidential and will be collected, analyzed and reported as aggregate data for my dissertation. I would appreciate your cooperation. Since all of the responses are confidential, please do not put your name on the questionnaire. Choose only one answer for each question. Please respond to all questions. The questionnaire will take less than five minutes to complete.

If you have questions related to this research, you are encouraged to contact Dr. Robert Waymer at (404) 880-8561 at the Whitney M. Young, Jr., School of Social Work at Clark Atlanta University 223 James P. Brawley Drive, SW Atlanta, Georgia 30314.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.


Janice Chube Moore, MSW
Ph.D. Candidate

Clark Atlanta University
Whitney M. Young, Jr. School of Social Work


Robert Waymer, Ph.D.

Dissertation Committee Member
Clark Atlanta University
Whitney M. Young, Jr. School of Social Work

223 JAMES P. BRAWLEY DRIVE, S.W. • ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30314-4391 • (404) 880-8000

Formed in 1988 by the consolidation of Atlanta University, 1865, and Clark College, 1869

APPENDIX C

CONSENT FORM

A STUDY OF THE 2005 EDUCATION REFORM AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHARTER SCHOOLS IN NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA SINCE HURRICANE KATRINA

You are invited to participate in a study that seeks to explore, investigate, and describe the relationship between the 2005 education reform and the development of charter schools in New Orleans. This study consists of a questionnaire with sixteen questions and a consent form.

There are no known risks to participants who agree to take part in this research. There are no known personal benefits to participants who agree to take part in this research. However, it is hoped that those who participate in this study will gain insight into the satisfaction of present and past residents of New Orleans with the prevailing educational system and also by reviewing second hand data determine if students' test scores have shown a significant improvement since the educational reforms were executed.

All responses to the questionnaires will remain confidential. Participation in this study is voluntary. If participants have questions about the study, they may contact the principal investigator, Janice Chube Moore, via email at janice.moore@students.cau.edu by phone, (504)453-3407, or the Whitney M. Young, Jr., School of Social Work at Clark Atlanta University at (404) 880-8561.

My signature below verifies that I have read the statement above and agree to participate in this research project.

Print Name of Participant/Date

Signature of Participant/Date

APPENDIX D

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Education Reform and the Development of Charter Schools in New Orleans **Section I: Demographic Information**

Instructions: Place a mark (x) next to the appropriate item, Choose only one for each statement.

1. My Gender: 1) _____ Male 2) _____ Female
2. My Age Group: 1) _____ 18-19 2) _____ 20-29 3) _____ 30-39 4) _____ 40-49
5) _____ 50up
3. Marital Status: 1) _____ Married 2) _____ Never Married 3) _____ Divorced
4) _____ Widowed
4. Ethnicity: 1) _____ African American /Black 2) _____ White 3) _____ Hispanic
4) _____ Other
5. Education: 1) _____ High School Grad 2) _____ Some College
3) _____ College Grad 4) _____ Other
6. Income: 1) _____ Under \$20,000 2) _____ \$20,000 – 29,999
3) _____ \$30,000- 39,999 4) _____ \$40,000 – 49,999 5) _____ \$50,000 & up
7. I live in New Orleans: 1) _____ Yes 2) _____ No
8. I moved out of New Orleans because of Hurricane Katrina: 1) _____ Yes 2) _____ No

Section II: Instrument

***Instructions:** The following statements are designed to solicit your opinion about Education Reform, Hurricane Katrina and Charter Schools in New Orleans, Louisiana. Write the appropriate number (1 thru 4) in the blank space in front of each statement on the questionnaire. Choose only one answer for each statement. Please respond to all questions.*

1 = Strongly Disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Agree 4 = Strongly Agree

Education Reform

- _____ 9. Louisiana Department of Education took over public schools in New Orleans
- _____ 10. Education reform has improved the academic performance of students
- _____ 11. Overall, education reform has improved New Orleans Public Schools

Hurricane Katrina

- _____ 12. Before Hurricane Katrina my primary residence was in New Orleans
- _____ 13. I remained in New Orleans during Hurricane Katrina
- _____ 14. I evacuated New Orleans before Hurricane Katrina came ashore

Charter Schools

- _____ 15. Charter schools are better than the traditional public schools
- _____ 16. Teach for America educators are better teachers than public school teachers
- _____ 17. I was one of the New Orleans public school employees fired

Thank you very much for your cooperation

APPENDIX E

SPSS PROGRAM ANALYSIS

TITLE 'Education Reform and Charter Schools in New Orleans'.
SUBTITLE 'Janice Chube Moore PhD Program CAU School of Social Work'.

DATA LIST FIXED/

ID 1-3
GENDER 4
AGEGRP 5
MARITAL 6
ETHNIC 7
EDUCAT 8
INCOME 9
LIVEIN 10
MOVED 11
TOOKOV 12
IMPROVE 13
BEFORE 14
OVERALL 15
REMAIN 16
EVACU 17
SCHOOL 18
TEACH 19
FIRED 20.

COMPUTE REFORM = (TOOKOV + IMPROVE + BEFORE)/3.
COMPUTE KATRINA = (OVERALL + REMAIN + EVACU)/3.
COMPUTE CHARTER = (SCHOOL + TEACH + FIRED)/3.

VARIABLE LABELS

ID 'Case Number'
GENDER 'Q1 My Gender'
AGEGRP 'Q2 My Age Group'
MARITAL 'Q3 Marital Status'
ETHNIC 'Q4 Ethnicity'
EDUCAT 'Q5 Education'
INCOME 'Q6 My Income'

LIVEIN 'Q7 I live in New Orleans'
 MOVED 'Q8 I moved out of New Orleans'
 TOOKOV 'Q9 Louisiana Department of Education took over public schools in New Orleans'
 IMPROVE 'Q10 Education reform has improved the academic performance of students'
 BEFORE 'Q11 Before Hurricane my primary residence was in New Orleans'
 OVERALL 'Q12 Overall education reform has improved New Orleans Public Schools'
 REMAIN 'Q13 I remained in New Orleans during Hurricane Katrina'
 EVACU 'Q14 I evacuated New Orleans before Hurricane Katrina came ashore'
 SCHOOL 'Q15 Charter schools are better than the traditional public schools'
 TEACH 'Q16 Teach for America educators are better teachers than public school teachers'
 FIRED 'Q17 I was one of the New Orleans public school personnel that was fired'.

VALUE LABELS

GENDER

- 1 'Male'
- 2 'Female'/

AGEGRP

- 1 '18-20'
- 2 '20-29'
- 3 '30-39'
- 4 '40-49'
- 5 '50 up'/

MARITAL

- 1 'Married'
- 2 'Never Married'
- 3 'Divorced'
- 4 'Widowed'/

ETHNIC

- 1 'AfricanAmerican'
- 2 'White'
- 3 'Hispanic'
- 4 'Other'/

EDUCAT

- 1 'HighSchool Grad'
- 2 'Some College'
- 3 'College Grad'
- 4 'Other'/

INCOME

- 1 'Under \$20,000'
- 2 '\$20,000-29,999'
- 3 '\$30,000-39,999'
- 4 '\$40,000-49,999'

5 '\$50,000 & up/'

LIVEIN

1 'Yes'

2 'No/'

MOVED

1 'Yes'

2 'No/'

TOOKOV

1 'Strongly Disagree'

2 'Disagree'

3 'Agree'

4 'Strongly Agree/'

IMPROVE

1 'Strongly Disagree'

2 'Disagree'

3 'Agree'

4 'Strongly Agree/'

BEFORE

1 'Strongly Disagree'

2 'Disagree'

3 'Agree'

4 'Strongly Agree/'

OVERALL

1 'Strongly Disagree'

2 'Disagree'

3 'Agree'

4 'Strongly Agree/'

REMAIN

1 'Strongly Disagree'

2 'Disagree'

3 'Agree'

4 'Strongly Agree/'

EVACU

1 'Strongly Disagree'

2 'Disagree'

3 'Agree'

4 'Strongly Agree/'

SCHOOL

1 'Strongly Disagree'

2 'Disagree'

3 'Agree'

4 'Strongly Agree/'

5 'Other/'

TEACH

1 'Strongly Disagree'

2 'Disagree'
 3 'Agree'
 4 'Strongly Agree'/'

FIRE

1 'Strongly Disagree'
 2 'Disagree'
 3 'Agree'
 4 'Strongly Agree'/'

REFORM

1 'Strongly Disagree'
 2 'Disagree'
 3 'Agree'
 4 'Strongly Agree'/'

KATRINA

1 'Strongly Disagree'
 2 'Disagree'
 3 'Agree'
 4 'Strongly Agree'/'

CHARTER

1 'Strongly Disagree'
 2 'Disagree'
 3 'Agree'
 4 'Strongly Agree'/'

RECODE TOOKOV IMPROVE BEFORE (1 THRU 2.99 = 2)(3 THRU 4.99 = 3).
 RECODE OVERALL REMAIN EVACU (1 THRU 2.99 = 2)(3 THRU 4.99 = 3).
 RECODE SCHOOL TEACH FIRE (1 THRU 2.99 = 2)(3 THRU 4.99 = 3).
 RECODE REFORM KATRINA CHARTER (1 THRU 2.99 = 2)(3 THRU 4.99 = 3).

MISSING VALUES

GENDER AGEGRP MARITAL ETHNIC EDUCAT INCOME LIVEIN MOVED
 TOOKOV IMPROVE BEFORE OVERALL REMAIN EVACU SCHOOL TEACH
 FIRE (0).

BEGIN DATA

00123214522422413221
 00215113511322414114
 00325114511411414124
 00415113521322414221
 00525113521411414114
 00625314521421424114
 00724113121134414311
 00824314321323414224
 00913213511343414211
 01025413221001000300

01125313512432414211
01225414421322414221
01325310512411223111
01425413421333323222
01525113512422414111
01625114512133114314
01725213512333114211
01825113511411414111
01925113512222424211
02024210511211441114
02123113512432414221
02225113512311114111
02325113512233414221
02415114521344414431
02525113521333414331
02625414511211414111
02725114512311414221
02825414511333411314
02925113512433411324
03025414512333111331
03125113512421441114
03223213521411414111
03315142512411441111
03424113521422441221
03514113421411414111
03615112510322414121
03724114512444414331
03824413512311414111
03924114510322414411
04024113512244414221
04124113522322314021
04224113512411414211
04324113520311414311
04424113512233414321
04524113512222112111
04624114512322411321
04724113512422444321
04823113510323414221
04923113512333414221
05023113512000000300
05123113512233323322
05225123512122411324
05325313321233414114
05425123412322414224
05524112412423414414

05625122412333414314
05724322111112414214
05814113512212414214
05924324412344414321
06025123312322414221
06115113211333323313
06224313410334111411
06325123512333421412
06422213112323232212
06524113412232414111
06622233412322222212
06724223510433414314
06824112111333414334
06925114512321423221
07015112510332414221
07125113512422414244
07223113512333114214
07325412211444411414
07425214511433414214
07525423512233414424
07623212222411441000
07723113321411411111
07824114512133414311
07924114511122414211
08025212210134411311
08125313410111414111
08225423512244414314
08323212411322411111
08425413511122414110
08515113512444434324
08625113512122000000
08725143511000000000
08825113511000000000
08925224510000000000
09025114510411414401
09124113512433424000
09225113510233200322
09325113511300141021
09425114510022441211
09525113512000000000
09625213511202214111
09725314321300414014
09825111502003000300
09915413512433414321
10025423312433414321

10125114321433414211
10225313421322313213
10315114512322414111
10425113512322414111
10525313512422424114
10625112012300300110
10715111012030300010
10825314512000000000
10925313212322414114
11015113512422114121
11125113512422414111
11225414511322414211
11315113512232414211
11425113512232414211
11525213312000000000
11625113121222414214
11715113521233414314
11825123322040004400
11915111521111414321
12025112521111414321
12114312121322424211
12223213121433421412
12325113512422414311
12425213321411413214
12522213112332323212
12613111112433222341
12724114512422313114
12825113512433434214
12925313512211111111
13014111312111411211
13124112300111431111
13225122512333441331
13315144500000000000
13424114512111434421
13523113421323441421
13623122412222323322
13724213512003400300
13823113312211111221
13925413512133414421
14025114411411343112
14122212121332424401
14222212121212414431
14315123512444111221
14424213412322424431
14525122522322424431

14625122411343243341
14725123212444111211
14812114511322424421
14924124422423424431
15025214311432424431
15124214511123414214
15224123422343423431
15312224322333233341
15423214211343233441
15524123011422424331
15614123422422422431
15724023022322424431
15823223422332424431
15924123311222424331
16025214222423422431
16124320311444321412
16213224422322424243
16325122222323424243
16424123020422323431
16523123422331421134
16624123422331242431
16715222311431324431
16813122211443243344
16915123522322424431
17014223412321421432
17115124510421234342
17223123411222424434
17324123410422233432
17422213312433424444
17514123410222341431
17614123422222414231
17723113312232244431
17823213312000000000
17914123400322424431
18023223422322424431
18124223412322420231
18215124522341422431
18323223411322424431
18424224422331323424
18515123511322441421
18612012311344244341
18725142422444244424
18813211212000000000
18911322411432212444
19024113422311212424

19123222522424214342
19215213521424234212
19315423411334123231
19424323522433111343
19512333522434112321
19613222311343444333
19712213200232112333
19821110422343222333
19924223412424413321
20015423512433233433
20124222512132421312
20212111312222132132
20312213111222414211
20425214511333424323
20525444512411414114
20625114312122414111
20723223312333322222
20825313512322322223
20915113511411414114
21012213111411414111
21113112112411441111
21225314512422414214
21315112312000000000
21425112412100000000
21525413412411414111
21625343512411414111
21714114512421111311
21823114512432111211
21915112210422414432
22025112512144444111
22113113412323323222
22225112312332322222
22323113512322414212
22414113511322314111
22515311210411413311
22614113512144414111
22723113512411414111
22825113412322323222
22922112211411414114
23024243311411414111
23114113411441414114
23214323311444441211
23321122220211111241
23422122222020111221
23515400512421434114

23614212212333444112
23723122310333333124
23824212111411414111
23914112312411414434
24015134410421411223
24113212111411414114
24212212222431111221
24315320511422411214
24415112511421424111
24524313212411414214
24625312011412444112
24724123012311222112
24825113412211424221
24924212312311414111
25022213421222414211
25125213312222424113
25225314311411411311
25325113512011404114
25413113412444114444
25522213512433414221
25625312111333414331
25724313511322414114
25824113510422414224
25915113512412114114
26025323512322423212
26124213511422414224
26225223511122414213
26325313512422424224
26425313512000000000
26525113212000000000
26625114512322113113
26725112512411414114
26825114512411414111
26925113211300020020
27025313210000000000
27125114512122114111
27215313212111333111
27324213521411414114
27412213121311114341
27525114511411414114
27615410412444343442
27713113312322113113
27824312312411414111
27925313512321441444
28023212212211411212

2811411331233232222
 2820531111100000000
 28315114510434414211
 28424114512333332312
 28524312311411411114
 28623313211212414213
 28712212222322111431
 28814313422111111111
 28924223022224111331
 29024113412322220322
 29114113412412422222
 29223212212311323222
 29315112312333322222
 29425313512322423224
 29523213322322220222
 29625113522322220222
 29715113522322220222
 29823213322322220222
 29913222412333322222
 30025114422233113321
 30124113512334141311
 30215113512322423214
 30324144521333000223
 30425143512433424322
 30515142512333422322
 30615113521423423213
 30725113221333414214
 30814113521411414444
 30925313511411423114
 31015114512411414114
 31125313511422411114
 31215123511422414114
 END DATA.

FREQUENCIES

/VARIABLES GENDER AGEGRP MARITAL ETHNIC EDUCAT INCOME LIVEIN
 MOVED
 TOOKOV IMPROVE BEFORE OVERALL REMAIN EVACU SCHOOL TEACH
 FIRED
 REFORM KATRINA CHARTER
 /STATISTICS = DEFAULT.

APPENDIX F

JOURNAL ENTRY MONDAY, AUGUST 29, 2005

Dearest Lord,

This morning is Monday, August 29, 2005. It's 5:00am in the morning. Lord, Hurricane Katrina is destroying New Orleans and the surrounding areas. Lord, please have mercy on us. Lord, please forgive us our sins. Lord, please save lives. I know why you are doing this to us, the people of New Orleans. Lord, have mercy on all of us.

I love you Lord. You are a mighty God, a great God. You are a merciful God and I'm thankful for you. Thank you for sending your son, Jesus Christ to be our example and our savior. Thank you for being an awesome God.

Thank you for the love and generosity of family. Thank you for the safety of all my family.

*"Lord, lead me to do Your will". 7=perfection and completion
Have mercy on us!!!*

*I love you always,
Janice*

P.S. "Be brave and courageous..." "Then the Lord sent an angel who destroyed every..." Lord is Hurricane Katrina the /angel?

APPENDIX G

JOURNAL ENTRY
TUESDAY, AUGUST 30, 2005

Tuesday, 8/30/2005, 2:30pm

Dearest Lord,

“Man born of woman is short-lived and full of trouble...As waters wear away the stones and floods wash away the soul of the land so you destroy the hope of man...I was in peace, but he dislodged me; he seized me by the neck and dashed me to pieces...before God my eyes drop tears...For my years are numbered now, and I am on a journey from which I shall not return” (Job14:1, 19; 16:12, 17).

Lord my heart feels like the previous words from Job. The levies have broken and 80% of New Orleans is 20ft. under water. But, a few minutes ago, I looked out of Majella's front door and I saw a yellow butterfly...I know I have to be calm, sit peacefully still and wait on you my Lord. You will make it all okay. Thank you Lord for your love, favor, blessings, protection, peace, guidance and comfort. The sun is shining now. Thanks!!!

*I love you forever,
Janice*

APPENDIX H

JOURNAL ENTRY FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 2005

September 2, 2005, Friday, 7:00am

Dear Lord,

It's been very, very difficult to write to you. I'm not angry with you; I just have a heavy heart. The poor people are starving and begging for help. What do you want me to do? As I have been doing, I ask for mercy on all of us. During difficult times in my life, I've found it hard to pray, however I could always ask for mercy.

Lord, Junius made contact with James at 2:00am this morning. He has been on his roof since Monday and thought he was going to die. Thank God for your mercy.

Everyone here in Alabama has been so nice. Majella's neighbor, Dana gave us Joshua 1:9. "I command you be firm and steadfast. Do not fear nor be dismayed, for the Lord, your God is with you wherever you go." Thank you for Dana. Thank you for you.

Please direct my path. I don't know where you want me to go or what you want me to do. "Lord lead me to do your perfect will."

*I love you forever,
Janice*

REFERENCES

- Alexander, M. (2012). *The new Jim Crow: Mass incarceration in the age of colorblindness*. New York, NY: The New Press.
- Amanto, M. (2015). *Marx conflict theory*. Retrieved from <http://conflicttheory.com/marx/>
- American Legislative Exchange Council. (2014). *Report card on American education*. Retrieved from www.alec.org
- Associated Press. (2007, March 15). 4th circuit rules in favor of ex-Orleans Parish school employees. *The Times Picayune*. Retrieved from <http://www.nola.com/katrinaphotos/tp/>
- Associated Press. (2013, December 19). Recovery School District will be country's first All-Charter District in September 2014. *The Times Picayune*. Retrieved from http://www.nola.com/education/index.ssf/2013/12/recovery_school_district_will_3.html
- Associated Press. (2014, May 30). New Orleans District moves to an All-Charter system. *National Public Radio, Education*. Retrieved from <http://www.npr.org/sections/ed/2014/05/30/317374739/new-orleans-district-moves-to-an-all-charter-system>

- Associated Press. (2016, January 11). I will not be a business-as-usual governor. *The Advocate*. Retrieved from <http://theadvocate.com/news/14533271-31/i-will-not-be-a-business-as-usual-governor-john-bel-edwards-sworn-in-as-governor-promising-to-stabil>
- Babbie, E. (2007). *The practice of social research (11th Edition)*. Belmont, CA: Thomson Higher Education.
- Babbie, E. (2010). *The practice of social research (12th Edition)*. San Francisco, CA: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning.
- Barnett, A., & Chappell, K. (2010, September). Education nation: When it comes to providing an environment in which every child can learn, President Obama is on a mission. *Ebony Magazine*, 68-73.
- Barribeau, P., Butler, B., Corney, J., Doney, M., Gault, J., Gordon, J., Fetzer, R., Klein, A., Rogers, C. A., Stein, I. F., Steiner, C., Urschel, H., Waggoner, T., & Palmquist, M. (1994-2012). Survey research. Writing@CSU. Colorado State University. Retrieved from <http://writing.coostate.edu/guides/guide.cfm?guideid=68>
- Beebe, L. (2015). BESE member disputes editorial praising “reforms.” Retrieved from <http://la.aft.org/news/bese-member-disputes-editorial-praising-%E2%80%99>
- Bennett, J. (2012). Critical race theory: *A cult of anti-white resentment*. Retrieved from http://www.americanthinker.com/articles/2012/03/critical_race_theory_a_cult_of_anti-white_resentment.html
- Berkshire, J. (2015). There goes the neighborhood school. *The Progressive*, 39-42.

- Blackler, F. (2011). Power, politics, and intervention theory: Lessons from organization studies. *Theory and Psychology*, 21(5), 724-734.
- Blokker, L. (2012). *Education in Louisiana*. Louisiana: Southeast Preservation.
- Bracey, G. (2015). Toward a critical race theory state. *Critical Sociology*, 41(3), 553-572.
- Brown, K. (2013). Teaching in color: A critical race theory in education analysis of the literature on preservice teachers of color and teacher education in the US. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 17(3), 326-345.
- Buras, K. (2015). Charter schools flood New Orleans: The disaster ten years later. *Progressive, Inc.* Retrieved from <http://www.progressive.org/news/2014/12/187949/charter-schools-flood-new-orleans>
- Carr, S. (2013). *Hope against hope: Three schools, one city, and the struggle to educate America's children*. New York, NY: Bloomsbury Press.
- Carter, L. (2015). The charter school e-newsletter. Retrieved from actionnetwork.org
- Casey, L. (2015). The charter school challenge. *New Labor Forum*, 24(1), 22-30.
- Chapman, T., & Donnor, J. (2015). Critical race theory and the proliferation of U.S. charter schools. *Equity and Excellence in Education*, 48(1), 137-157.
- Cheney, E. (1894). Evolution of women's education in the United States. *Art and Handicraft in the Woman's Building of the World's Columbian Exposition*, 147-165.
- Chieppo, C. (2013, May 28). How New Orleans is rebuilding its ruined school system from the ground up. Retrieved from <http://www.governing.com/blogs/bfc/col-rebuilding-new-orleans-public-schools.html>

- Clark, E. (2013). Sociological theories of low-wage work. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 24(1), 38-50.
- Cornell University Law School. (1992). Legal Information Institute. Retrieved from <https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/16>
- Critical Race Theory. (n.d.). *The Bridge*. Harvard Law School. Retrieved from <http://cyber.law.harvard.edu/bridge/Critical /theory/critical4.txt.htm>
- Cummings, T., & Worley, C. (2015). *Organization development and change*. Stamford, CT: Cengage Learning.
- The Data Center. (2014). *Facts for feature*. Retrieved from <http://www.datacentersearch.org/data-resources/katrina/facts-for-impact/>
- Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2001). *Critical race theory: An introduction*. New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Denhart, R. (2011). *Theories of public organization*. Boston, MA: Wadsworth.
- Dennis, L., & Kennedy, A. (Creators). (2009). A history of public education in New Orleans-A perspective on governance [Video]. New Orleans, LA: Orleans Public Education Network.
- Dixson, A., Buras, K., & Jeffers, E. (2015). The color of reform: Race, education reform, and charter schools in post-Katrina New Orleans. *Quality Inquiry*, 21(3), 288-299.
- DuBois, W. (1903/1994). *The souls of Black folk*. New York, NY: Dover Publications, Inc.
- Dudley, J. (2011). *Research methods for social work*. Boston, MA: Pearson Education, Inc.

- Dye, T. (2013). *Understanding public policy*. Boston, MA: Pearson Education, Inc.
- Education Week Research Center. (2011). *No Child Left Behind*. Retrieved from <http://www.edweek.org/ew/issues/no-child-left-behind/>
- Ellis, R. (2010, September). The Ebony roundtable on education. *Ebony Magazine*, 75-81.
- Encyclopaedia Britannica Online. (2015a). Robert K. Merton. Retrieved from <http://www.britannica.com/biography/Robert-K-Merton>.
- Encyclopaedia Britannica Online. (2015b). Kurt Lewin. Retrieved from <http://www.britannica.com/print/topic/338099>
- Encyclopedia of Louisiana. (2015). Marie Couvent. Retrieved from www.knowla.org/category/3/history/
- Encyclopedia Virginia. (n.d.). Carter G. Woodson (1875). Retrieved from http://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/woodson_carterg1875-1950
- Elliott, J. (1984). Karl Marx's theory of socio-institutional transformation in late-stage capitalism. *Journal of Economic Issues*, 23(2), 383-391.
- Federal Bureau of Investigation. (2009, March 5). Federal Judge sentenced two major Orleans Parish school board probe figures. New Orleans Division, Eastern District of Louisiana. Retrieved from http://www.fbi.gov/neworleans/press_releases/2009/no030509a.htm
- Ferguson, B. (2011). *New Orleans RSD Charter Schools can expel unwanted students-Making test results questionable*. New Orleans, LA: Research on Reforms, Inc.

- Ferguson, B. (2015a). *Appeal Court reverses District Court: Department of Education must release CREDO data to research on reforms*. New Orleans, LA: Research on Reforms, Inc.
- Ferguson, B. (2015b). *10 years later: Did the RSD make it better?* New Orleans, LA: Research on Reforms, Inc.
- Ford, C., & Airhihenbuwa, C. (2010). Critical race theory, race equity, and public health: Toward antiracism praxis. *American Journal of Public Health*, 100(1), 1-11.
- Forrest, S. (2015). New Orleans' school reforms harmful to Black community, scholars say. Retrieved from http://news.illinois.edu/news/15/0501new_orleans_adriennedixson.html
- Foster, A. (2014). Time for détente between charter and traditional public schools. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 95(5), 18-23.
- Gillborn, D. (2015). Intersectionality, critical race theory, and the primacy of racism: Race, class, gender, and disability in education. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 21(3), 277-287.
- Harden, K. (2014, June). New Orleans nearing a 'privatized' public school system. *The Louisiana Weekly*. Retrieved from <http://www.louisianaweekly.com/new-orleans-nearing-a-privatized-public-system/>
- Harden, M., & Washington, T. (2009). *What it takes to rebuild a village after a disaster: Stories from internally displaced children and families of Hurricane Katrina and their lessons for our Nation*. Washington, DC: Children's Defense Fund.

- Haslam, S. (2014). Making good theory practical: Five lessons for an applied social identity approach to challenges of organizational, health, and clinical psychology. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 53, 1-20.
- Hatfield, C. (2012). *Recovery School District in New Orleans: National model for reform or district in academic crisis*. New Orleans, LA: Hatfield and Associates, LLC.
- Heilman, E., & Robinson, S. (2008). *A call to action Katrina: Citizens leadership core*. Jackson, MS: Southern Region Children's Defense Fund.
- Hobman, E., & Walker, L. (2015). Stasis and change: Social psychological insights in social-ecological resilience. *Ecology and Society*, 20(1), 39.
- Horne, J. (2011). New schools in New Orleans: School reform both exhilarated and imperiled by success. *Education Next*, 11(2), 14-24.
- Inskip, S. (2010). Former 'No Child Left Behind' advocate turns critic. Retrieved from <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=124209100>
- The Institute for New Orleans History and Culture at Gwynedd-Mercy College. (n.d.) Retrieved from <http://www.gmc.edu/library/neworleans/NOhistory.htm>
- Institute on Race and Poverty. (2010). *The state of public schools in post-Katrina New Orleans: The challenge of creating equal opportunity*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Law School.
- Junge, E. (2014). Charter school path paved with choice compromise, common sense. *Kappan Magazine*, 13-17.
- Kahlenberg, R., & Potter, H. (2015). Restoring Shanker's vision for charter schools. *American Federation of Teachers*. Retrieved from http://www.aft.org/ae/winter2014-2015/kahlenberg_potter

- Karp, S., & Sokolower, J. (2014). Colonialism, not reform, New Orleans schools since Katrina: An interview with community activist Karran Harper Royal. *Rethinking Schools*, 28(4), 1-8.
- Kolderie, T. (2005). Ray Budde and the origins of the charter concept. *Education Evolving*. Retrieved from <http://edsources.org/wp-content/uploads/RayBudde>
- Kritsonis, A. (2005). Comparison of change theory. *International Journal of Scholarly Academic Intellectual Diversity*, 8(1), 1-7.
- Kromm, C., & Sturgis, S. (2008). *Hurricane Katrina and the guiding principles on internal displacement*. Columbia, SC: Institute for Southern Studies.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (1998). Just what is critical race theory and what's it doing in a nice field like education? *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 11(1), 7-24.
- Layton, L. (2014). *In New Orleans, major school district closes traditional public schools for good*. Retrieved from http://www.washingtonpost.com/local/education/in-new-orleans-traditional-public-schools-close-for-good/2014/05/28/ae4f5724-e5de-11e3-8f90-73e071f3d637_story.html
- Ledesma, M., & Calderon, D. (2015). Critical race theory in education: A review of past literature and a look to the future. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 21(3), 206-222.
- Leonardo, Z. (2013). The story of schooling: Critical race theory and the educational racial contract. *Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 34(4), 599-610.
- Lopez, G. (2003). The (racially neutral) politics of education: A critical race theory perspective. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 39(1), 68-94.

Louisiana Association of Public Charter Schools. (2010). *Charter schools in Louisiana*.

Retrieved from www.pb.org/publicsquare

Louisiana Department of Education. (2005). *Education officials to submit federal requests, meet with U.S. Department of Education*. Baton Rouge, LA.

Louisiana Federation of Teachers. (2014). *Appeal Court vindicates 7,000 fired educators*.

Retrieved from <http://la.aft.org/press/appeal-court-vindicates-7000-fired-educators>

Louisiana Federation of Teachers. (2015). *BESE member disputes editorial praising*

“reforms”. Retrieved from <http://la.aft.org/news/bese-member-disputes-editorial-praising-%E2%80%9Creforms%E2%80%9D>

Louisiana Laws Revised Statutes. (2011). Title 17 – Education RS 17:221 – School

attendance; compulsory ages; duty of parents; excessive absences; condition for driving privileges. Retrieved from [http://law.justia.com/codes/louisiana/2011/rs/title 17/](http://law.justia.com/codes/louisiana/2011/rs/title%2017/)

Madigan, J. (2009). The education of girls and women in the United States: A historical perspective. *Advances in Gender and Education*, 11-13.

Marks, S. (2014). *Jonathan Sperber; Karl Marx: A Nineteenth Century Life*. New York, NY: Springer Science & Business Media.

Martin, P. (2015). Contradictory reforms: When NCLB undermines charter school innovation. *Current Issues in Education*, 18(1), 1-13.

McClelland, K. (2000). *Conflict theory*. Retrieved from <http://web.grinnell.edu/courses/soc/s00/soc111-01/IntroTheories/Conflict.html>

- McGuire, M., & Schneck, D. (2010). What if Hurricane Katrina hit in 2020? The need for strategic management of disasters. *Public Administration Review*, 70, s201-s207. doi: 10.1111/j.1540-6210.2010.02273x
- Mihail, R. (2012). Conflict and social change: Three sociological traditions. *Revista De Comunicare Si Marketing*, 3(5), 67-76.
- Mish, F. (2007). *Merriam-Webster's collegiate dictionary (11th Edition)*. Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster Incorporated.
- Morrison & Foerster LLP. (2005). *Hurricane Katrina Helping Handbook*. Morrison & Foerster LLP and the Center for Pro Bono.
- Mullins, D. (2014). *New Orleans to be home to Nation's first All-Charter school district*. Retrieved from <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2014/4/4/new-orleans-charterschoolseducationreformrace segregation.html>
- Murray, D. (2012). President Obama calls charter schools 'incubators of innovation' in National Charter Schools Week proclamation. Retrieved from http://blog.mlive.com/education_impact/print.html?entry=/2012/05/president_obama_calls_charter.html
- National Geographic (Creator). (2012). Hurricane Katrina day by day [Video]. Washington, DC: National Geographic Society.
- National Institute of Health. (2008). *Hurricane Katrina Deaths, Louisiana, 2005*. National Center for Biotechnology Information. Retrieved from <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pub/18756175>

New Jersey State Library. (2011). *W.E.B. DuBois "The Talented Tenth" (1903)*.

Retrieved from http://slic.njstatelib.org/NJ_Information/Digital_Collections/AAHCG/dubois.html

New Orleans Public Schools Employees Justice. (2015). Retrieved from nopsejustice.com

Nicolas, J. (2013). Sociological theory and social reality. *Revista Espanola de Investigaciones Sociologicas*, 143(7), 7-24.

Noguera, P. (2014). Charter schools as black boxes. *The Nation*, 27-29.

Nopse Justice Class Action Legal Committee. (2014). Louisiana Court of Appeal issues class action ruling in favor of New Orleans public school employees fired after Hurricane Katrina. New Orleans, LA.

Oliver, Nixon, Goodwin et al. v. Orleans Parish School Board et al., No. 2005-12244, Division "N-8" (Civil District Court for the Parish of Orleans 2012).

Oliver, Nixon, Goodwin et al. v. Orleans Parish School Board, No. 2012-CA-1520 (La. Ct. Appeal, 2014).

Oliver, Nixon, Goodwin et al. v. Orleans Parish School Board, LA No. 2014-C-0329 (2014).

Oliver, Nixon, Goodwin et al. v. Orleans Parish School Board et al., U.S. 14-1090 (2015).

O'Neill, P., & Thukral, R. (2010). The unique system of charter schools in New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina: Distinctive structure, familiar challenges. *Loyola Journal of Public Interest Law*, 11, 319-342.

Orleans Parish School Board (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://opsb.us/about/ourhistory/>

- Orleans Parish School Board Minutes, (2005, September 15).
- Parker, L. (2015). Critical race theory in education and qualitative inquiry: What each has to offer each other now? *Qualitative Inquiry*, 21(3), 199-205.
- Parsons, T. (1949). Social classes and class conflict in the light of recent sociological theory. *American Economic Review*, 16-36.
- Patton, L., McEwen, M. R. L., & Howard, M. (2007). Critical race perspectives on theory in student affairs. *New Directions for Student Services*, 120, 39-52.
- Pfeffer, J. (2013). You're still the same: Why theories of power hold over time and across contexts. *The Academy of Management Perspectives*, 27(4), 269-280.
- Phillips, J. (2009). *The status of post-Katrina housing: Louisiana and Mississippi*. Jackson, MS: Children's Defense Fund's Southern Regional and Louisiana Offices for the Katrina Citizen's Leadership Corps.
- Picard, C.J. (2005, September 14). [Letter to Honorable Margaret Spellings]. Copy in possession of Janice Chube Moore.
- Rainey, H. (2003). *Understanding and managing public organizations*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Ravitch, D. (2010a). The myth of charter schools. *The New York Review of Books*. 1963-2014 NYREV, Inc. Retrieved from, <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2010/11/11/myth-charter-schools/>
- Ravitch, D. (2010b). Why I changed my mind about school reform. 2013 Dow Jones & Company. Retrieved from <http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052748704869304575109443305343962>

- Raymond, M. (2014). To no avail: A critical look at the charter school debate. *Kappan Magazine*, 8-12.
- Reckhow, S., Grossmann, M., & Evans, B. (2015). Policy cues and ideology in attitudes toward charter schools. *Policy Studies Journal*, 43(2), 202-227.
- Recovery School District Law. (2005). Act No. 35, House Bill 121. Retrieved from <http://www.columbia.edu/itc/journalism/cases/katrin>
- Riddell, J., & Horne, J. (2011). Post-Katrina reforms produce achievement gains and conflict in New Orleans schools. *Education Next*. Retrieved from <http://educationnext.org/post-katrina-reforms-produce-achievement-gains-and-conflict-in-new-orleans-schools/>
- Roche, W., & Teague, P. (2012). Do conflict management systems matter? *Human Resource Management*, 51(2), 231-258.
- Rose, M. (2015). School reform fails the test. *American Scholar*, 84(1), 18-30.
- Rossmeier, V., & Sims, P. (2015). *K-12 public education through the public's eye: Parents' and adults' perception of public education in New Orleans*. New Orleans, LA: Tulane University Cowen Institute in partnership with the New Orleans Advocate.
- Rummel, R. (1977). Understanding conflict and war. Retrieved from <https://www.hawaii.edu/powerkills/Note12.HTM>
- Russo, C. (2014). A primer on charter schools and the law. *School Business Affairs*, 35-37.

- Russo, C., Harris, J., & Sandidge, R. (1994). *Brown v. Board of Education at 40: A legal history of equal educational opportunities in American public education. The Journal of Negro Education, 63(3), 297.*
- Sims, P., & Rossmeier, V. (2015). *The state of public education in New Orleans: 10 years after Hurricane Katrina.* New Orleans, LA: Tulane University, Cowen Institute.
- Sisters of the Holy Family. (n.d.). Retrieved from www.sifamily.com
- Smith, N. (2012). *The Louisiana Recovery School District: Lessons for the Buckeye State.* Columbus, OH: Thomas B. Fordham Institute.
- Southern Poverty Law Center. (2009). *Reducing student and teacher dropout rates in Louisiana.* Retrieved from <https://www.splcenter.org/20090501/reducing-student-and-teacher-dropout-rates-louisiana>
- Southern Poverty Law Center. (2010a). Access denied: New Orleans students and parents identify barriers to public education. Retrieved from <http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/publications/access-denied>
- Southern Poverty Law Center. (2010b). *J.W. v. Louisiana Board of Elementary and Secondary Education et al.* Retrieved from <https://www.splcenter.org/seeking-justice/case-docket/jw-v-louisiana-board-elementary-and-secondary-education-et-al>
- Southern Poverty Law Center. (2015). Children at risk. Retrieved from <http://www.splcenter.org/what-we-do/children-at-risk/louisiana>

- Spellings, M. (2005, December 30). Correspondence. Margaret Spellings Key Policy Letters Signed by the Education Secretary or Deputy Secretary. U.S. Department of Education Archives, Washington, D. C.
- Stern, M., & Hussain, K. (2014). On the charter question: Black Marxism and Black Nationalism. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 18(1), 61-88.
- Stulberg, L. (2015). African American school choice and the current race politics of charter schooling: Lessons from history. *Race Social Problem*, 7, 31-42.
- Thomas, P. (2013). Disaster capitalism and charter schools: Revisiting New Orleans post-Katrina, radical scholarship. Retrieved from [http://truth-out.org/opinion/item/19098-disaster-capitalism-and-charter-schools-revisiting-](http://truth-out.org/opinion/item/19098-disaster-capitalism-and-charter-schools-revisiting)
- Title IV - Hurricane Education Recovery Act. (2005). Subtitle A – Elementary and Secondary Education Hurricane Relief, H.R. 2863 No. 114 - 134.
- Trenkner, T. (2013). How New Orleans is rebuilding its ruined school system from the ground up. Retrieved from http://www.governing.com/templates/gov_print_article?id=208860741
- Tulane University, Cowen Institute for Public Education Initiatives. (2007). *New Orleans public schools history: A brief overview*. New Orleans, LA: Tulane University.
- Tulane University, Cowen Institute for Public Education Initiatives. (2012). *The state of public education in New Orleans, 2012 Report*. New Orleans, LA: Tulane University.
- Tulane University, Cowen Institute for Public Education Initiatives. (2013). *The state of public education in New Orleans, 2013 Report*. New Orleans, LA: Tulane University.

- Tulane University, Cowen Institute for Public Education Initiatives. (2014). *NOLA by the numbers: LEAP & iLEAP test results, 2014*. New Orleans, LA: Tulane University.
- Tulane University, Cowen Institute for Public Education Initiatives. (2015). *An interactive timeline of New Orleans public education, 1718-present*. New Orleans, LA: Tulane University.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2010). *Census interactive population search*. Washington, D.C: U.S. Government.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2011). *New Orleans: Some still in transition*. Retrieved from <http://blogs.census.gov/2011/02/15/new-orleans-some-still-in-transition/>
- U.S. Coast Guard. (2015). U.S. Department of Homeland Security. Retrieved from www.uscg.mil/history/katrina/katrinaindex.asp
- U.S. Office of Education. (1941). *America builds a school system, Bulletin 1941, No. 12*. Washington, DC: Federal Security Agency.
- U.S. Department of Education. (2004). *Public Law 107-110-January 8, 2002, "No Child Left Behind Act of 2001"*. Washington, DC. Retrieved from <http://www2.ed.gov/print/policy/elsec/leg/esea02/pg1.html>
- U.S. Department of Education. (2010). *ESEA blueprint for reform*. Washington, DC: Office of Planning, Evaluation and Policy Development.
- U.S. Department of Education. (2013). *The condition of education 2013 (NCES 2013-037), charter school enrollment*. Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics.

- U.S. Department of Education. (2014). *Search for public school districts*. Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics. Retrieved from <https://nces.ed.gov/ccd/districtsearch/>
- U.S. Department of Education. (2014). *State implementation of reforms promoted under the Recovery Act: A report from charting the progress of education reform: An evaluation of the Recovery Act's role* (NCEE Publication No. 2014-4011). Retrieved from <http://ies.ed.gov/ncee>
- U.S. Department of Education. (2015). *The condition of education-elementary and secondary education: Status dropout rates*. Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics. Retrieved from http://nces.ed.gov/programs/coe/indicator_coj.asp
- University of Michigan. (2007). A timeline for the education of African Americans in the United States: 1600-2007. Retrieved from <http://sitemaker.umich.edu/educationalequity/africanamericantimeline>
- United Teachers of New Orleans. (2005). *Update*. Baton Rouge, LA.
- Ursuline Convent. (1997). New Orleans, extensive historical content. Retrieved from <http://www.storyvilledistrictnola.com/ursulines.html>
- Veith, R. (2013). Misspending for youth: School vouchers in Louisiana are a legally tenuous, short-term fix for a state in need of public education reform. *Tulane Law Review*, 88(369), 369-395.
- Virginia Historical Society. (2009a). The African American struggle through the U.S. educational system. Retrieved from <http://historyengine.richmond.edu/episodes/view/4854>

- Virginia Historical Society. (2009b). *Beginnings of black education*. Retrieved from <http://www.vahistorical.org/collections-and-resources/virginia-history-explorer/civil-rights-movement-virginia/beginnings-black>
- Wagner, B., & McLaughlin, K. (2015). Politicising the psychology of social class: The relevance of Pierre Bourdieu's habitus for psychological research. *Theory and Psychology*, 25(2), 202-221.
- Walumbwa, F. (1999). Power and politics in organizations: Implications for OD professional practice. *Human Resource Development International*, 2(3), 205-216.
- Watson, O. (2006, February 22). [Letter to Orleans Parish School Board Employee]. Copy in possession of Janice Chube Moore.
- Woods, F.L. (2008, April 21). [An Open Letter to all Members of the Louisiana Legislature and Request for Legislative Action]. Copy in possession of Janice Chube Moore.
- Woodson, C. (1919/2004). *The education of the negro prior to 1861-A history of the education of the colored people of the United States from the beginning of slavery to the Civil War*. Retrieved from http://andromeda.rutgers.edu/~natalieb/The_Education_Of_The_Negro_P.pdf
- Woodson, C. (1993/2015). *The mis-education of the negro*. Washington, DC: Tribeca Books.
- Wun, C. (2012). The anti-black order of No Child Left Behind: Using Lacanian psychoanalysis and critical race theory to examine NCLB. *Educational Philosophy and Theory: Incorporating ACCESS*, 46(5), 462-474.

- Zanders, W. (2015). New Orleans public school employees will request a congressional hearing on the \$750 million federal fund to restart schools after Hurricane Katrina. Retrieved from <http://www.nopsejustice.com/index.html>
- Zubrzycki, J. (2013, April 19). TFA alumni aid new teachers in New Orleans. *Education Week*. Retrieved from http://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/2013/04/19/29neworleans_ep.h32.html?tkn=PZOF%2